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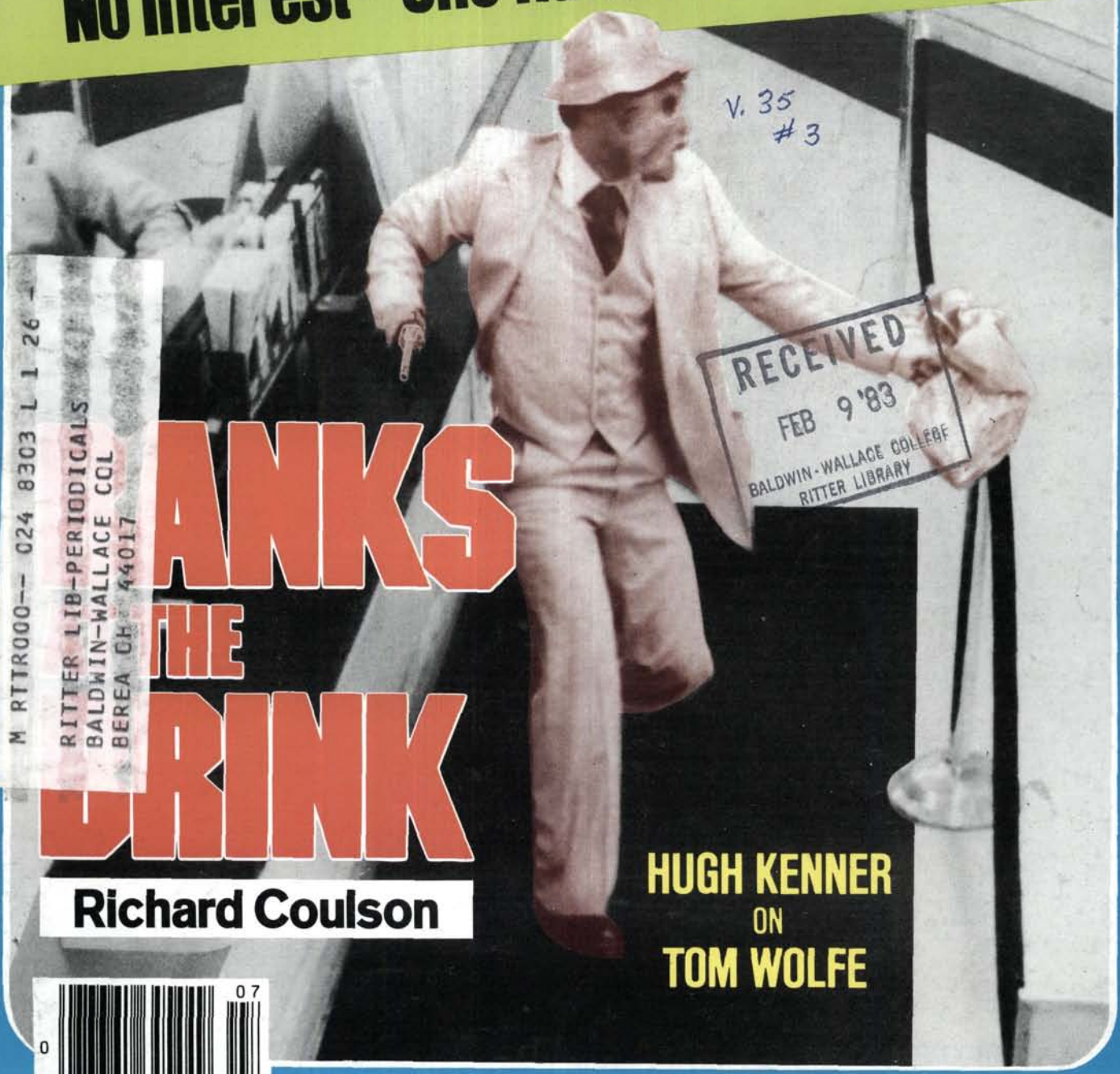

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The Chromium Mechanism

The first comprehensive explanation of electrochemical activity during the plating of chromium has recently been formulated at the General Motors Research Laboratories. This understanding has aided in transforming chromium plating into a highly efficient, high-speed operation.

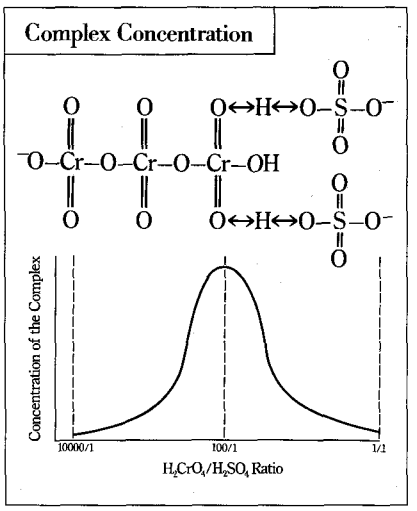
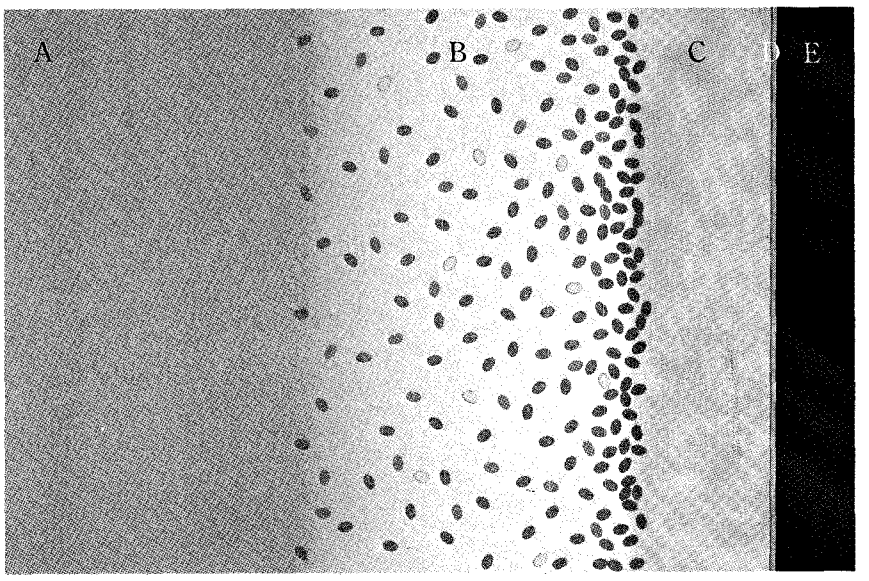


Figure 1: The electroactive complex and a theoretical plot of its concentration as a function of chromic acid to sulfuric acid ratio.

Figure 2: The electroactive complex diffuses from the bulk electrolyte solution (A) through the diffusion layer (B) to the Helmholtz double layer (C) to be discharged as metallic chromium (D) on the cathode (E) surface.



FOR MANY industrial applications, chromium coatings of more than 0.2 mil thickness are required for wear and corrosion resistance. But the conventional method of plating chromium is neither fast nor efficient. Nor, until the recent work of a GM researcher, had the steps involved in the century-old plating process been explained in detail. Through a combination of theory and experiment, Dr. James Hoare has devised the first comprehensive mechanism for chromium plating. This increased understanding has helped electrochemists at the General Motors Research Laboratories develop a system that plates chromium sixty times faster than the conventional method, while improving energy-efficiency by a factor of three.

The electrolyte for plating is a chromic acid solution which contains various chromate ions: chromate, dichromate and trichromate. From a series of steady-state polarization experiments, Dr. Hoare concluded that trichromate is the ion important in chromium deposition.

Sulfuric acid has been recognized as essential to chromium plating and has been assumed by some to be a catalyst for the process. In this strongly acidic solution, sulfate should be mostly present as the bisulfate ion $(HSO_4)^-$. Dr. Hoare found, contrary to expectations, that the addition of sulfuric acid to the plating bath decreased the conductivity of the solution.

Combining these findings with the results of previous investigations, Dr. Hoare concluded that the electroactive species was a trichromate-bisulfate complex (see Figure 1). From equilibrium considerations, he theorized that the maximum concentration of this species occurred at a 100-to-1 chromic acid/sulfuric acid ratio. The observation that the maximum rate of chromium deposition also occurred at this ratio supports the conclusion that this trichromate-bisulfate complex is the electroactive species.

During the plating process, the complex diffuses from the bulk solution toward the cathode (see Figure 2). Electron transport takes place by quantum mechanical tunneling through the potential energy barrier of the Helmholtz double layer and the unprotected chromium in the complex (Cr atom

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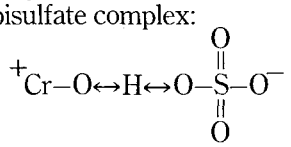
on the left in Figure 1) loses electons by successive steps, going from Cr^{+6} to Cr^{+2}. Decomposition of the resulting chromous dichromate complex takes place by acid hydrolysis to form a chromous-oxybisulfate complex:



The positive end of this complex is adsorbed onto the cathode surface. Electrons are transferred from the cathode to the adsorbed chromium ion, forming metallic chromium and regenerating the $(HSO_4)^-$ ion. Thus, Dr. Hoare's mechanism explains how sulfuric acid, in the form of the bisulfate ion, participates in the plating process.

IT HAS long been known that chromium cannot be plated from a solution when initially present as Cr^{+3} because of the formation of the stable aquo complex, $[Cr(H_2O)_6]^{+3}$. Yet chromium can be plated when initially present as Cr^{+6} even though it must pass through the Cr^{+3} state before being deposited. Dr. Hoare's mechanism handles this paradox by explaining that the chromium ion being deposited (on the left in Figure 1) is protected by the rest of the complex as it passes through the Cr^{+3} state, so that the stable aquo complex cannot form.

The diffusion of the electroactive complex apparently controls the rate of the process, so that shortening the diffusion path increases the speed of chromium deposition. A high rate of relative motion between the electrolyte and the cathode will shorten the path. This can be accomplished by rapid flow or by agitation of the electrolyte.

Dr. Hoare found that the rate of chromium deposition increased with electrolyte flow until the process was no longer diffusion-controlled. He also found that the use of dilute electrolyte significantly increased plating efficiency.

"This project is an excellent example," says Dr. Hoare, "of how basic research and engineering principles can be combined to develop a new, successful process. Now, we'd like to take on the challenge of plating successfully from Cr^{+3}, which would be an even more efficient way to provide corrosion and wear resistance."

General Motors

GM

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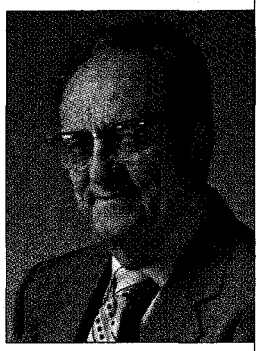

Dr. James Hoare is a Research Fellow at the General Motors Research Laboratories. He is a member of the Electrochemistry Department.

Dr. Hoare served as an electronics technician in the U.S. Navy during the Second World War. In 1949, he received his Ph.D. in physical chemistry from the Catholic University of America. After an assistant professorship at Trinity College in Washington, D.C., he joined the US Naval Research Laboratory as a physical chemist. He became a staff member at General Motors in 1960.

Dr. Hoare's sustaining interest has been in electrochemical kinetics and the mechanisms of electrode processes. He is best known to the scientific community for his basic studies of hydrogen and oxygen electrode mechanisms. His book, *The Electrochemistry of Oxygen,* published in 1968, is considered a work of primary importance to the field. In addition to his work on chromium plating, he is responsible for the fundamental research that helped make electrochemical machining a precision process.

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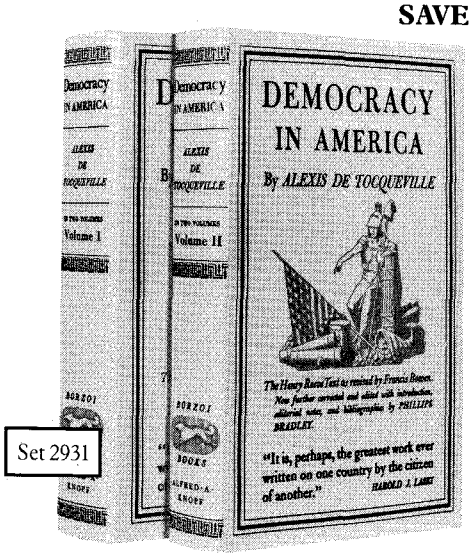
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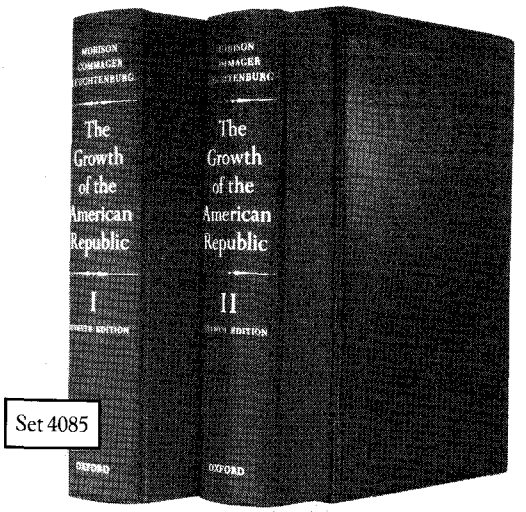

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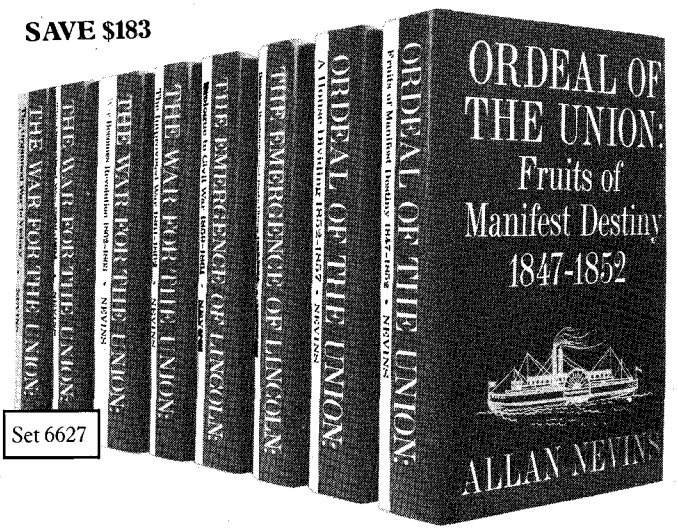

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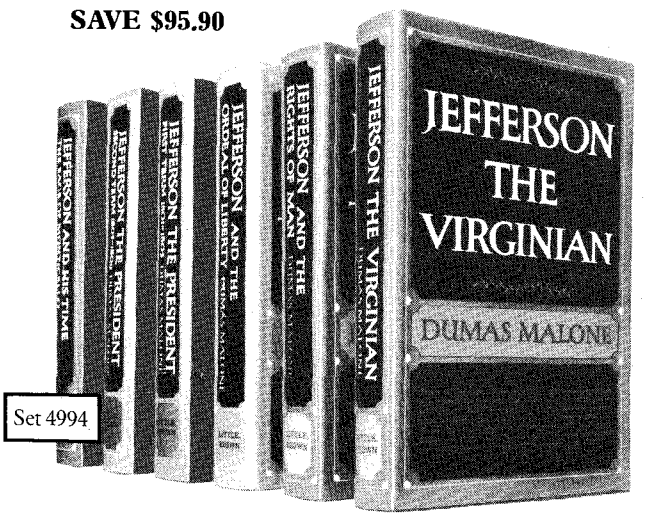

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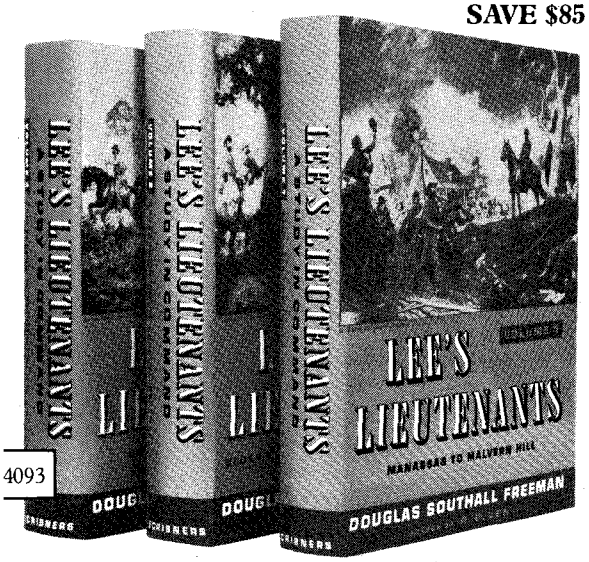

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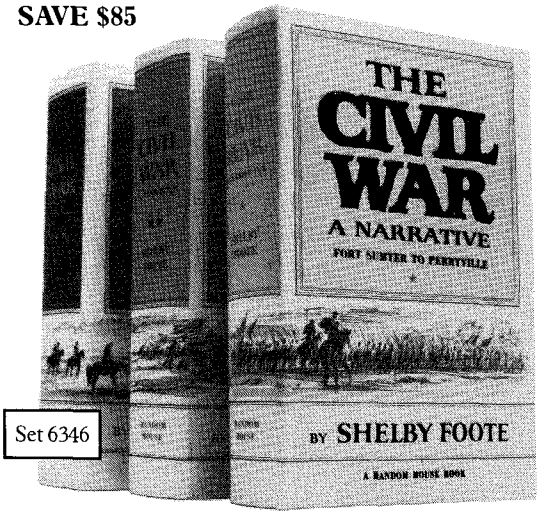

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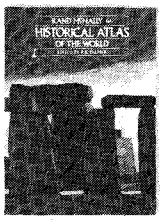

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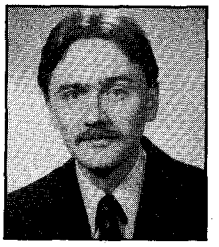

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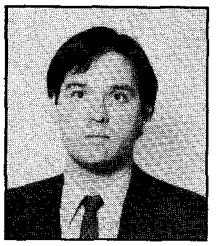

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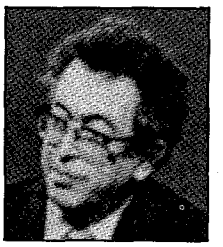

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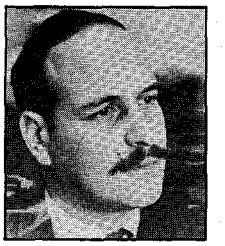

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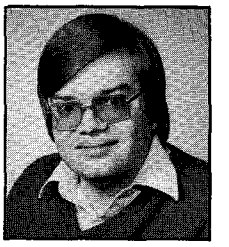

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The Banks

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Wall Street financiers have acquired not only big debtors, but some unexpected new friends: liberals. There's a reason for this. *Tom Bethell*

172 Banks at the Brink
Having lent billions to subsidize foreign socialism, American bankers simultaneously defend this as good capitalistic practice and request that the U.S. taxpayer protect them from economic reality. They are supporting this request with a series of disingenuous arguments: that whole nations don't go bankrupt, that by "rescheduling" bad debts they are preventing worldwide economic collapse, and that there is (or ought to be, anyhow) a lender of last resort behind the banks. Baloney, baloney, baloney. *Richard Coulson*

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The Soviet Union needs a slightly different "peace" or "freeze" movement in each major region. Serendipitously enough, such precisely calibrated movements have sprung into being. *Brian Crozier*

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Reagan's message was this, say conservative populists: "Don't hit me any more. I'm on the ropes. Let me clinch. . . . Let me be chief of state, and you guys can run the government." *John McLaughlin*

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Alexander J. Motyl and Adrian Karatnycky

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A few months ago she was hugely unpopular. Inflation was down, but unemployment was high and her attempts to curb spending caused fury. Then came the Falklands. Today her popularity approaches the Churchillian—to the dismay of her "wets" and Lord Tony. *Anthony Lejeune*

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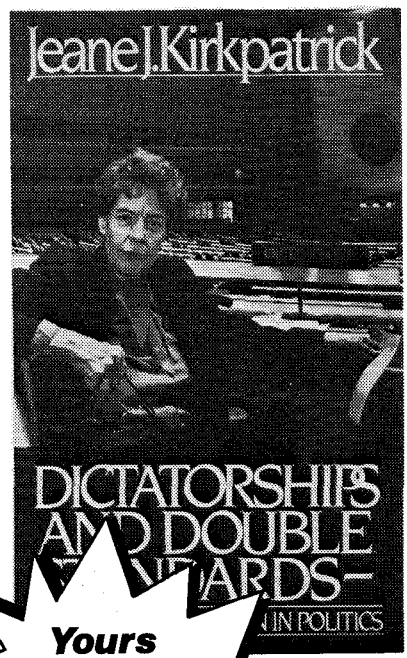

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*

Letters

With Mixed Yen

If humor is a useful guise for intelligence and critical acuity, I hand it to William F. Buckley Jr. for that splendid rendition ["China Over Lightly," Feb. 4] of the Sleeping Giant, China, the relics of its ancient culture trapped beneath the terror of a Communist regime. Here is the panorama of a culture—its massive populace, overcrowded marketplaces, Red Flag limousines—all from a tourist's eye view. But China is a closed society, a police state where the foreigner never can lose himself. Furthermore, as a Chinese refugee said to Fox Butterfield, "If China ever opened its doors, everybody would go. To the United States." Only with great care can one go to China and back.

Rickie McGuire
Fort Lauderdale, Fla.

Well Said

I enjoyed Mary Schwarz's article, "Jeane Kirkpatrick: Our Macho UN Ambassador" [Jan. 21]. In that article she reports that Mrs. Kirkpatrick remains a Democrat because the Republican Party has failed to articulate "any inclusive vision of the public good that reflects concern for the well-being of the whole community."

I remain a Republican because, as I see it, the Democratic Party has failed to articulate any inclusive vision of personal good and individual freedom and liberty as the basis for democratic society. I wonder which is the more critical issue.

Consider this: following a series of Democratic Presidents it took the first Republican President, Abraham Lincoln, to articulate clearly an inclusive vision of *both* individual worth and public good via Emancipation and preservation of the Union. Furthermore, it took Dwight Eisenhower to institute the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and Richard Nixon to sign the OSHA birth certificate. I believe the MX-missile program of President Reagan is an inclusive vision of the public good.

John L. Zettelmaier, MD
Gobles, Mich.

Heavy Truth

As an Orthodox priest who has spent considerable time studying various aspects of Russian life—historical, cultural, and the religious as manifested in Russian Orthodoxy—it is always a pleasure and even a joy to read the works of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, be it a long novel or a short essay, such as "Communism at the End of the Brezhnev Era," which appeared in NATIONAL REVIEW [Jan. 21]. I deliberately say a pleasure and a joy, for amid the pages spent describing, through such powerful prose, the brutal assaults upon the nation and people of Russia by the inhuman Soviet regime, there resounds the voice of Truth that makes such reading, ultimately, bearable. Actually, it appears as if Solzhenitsyn is offering a detailed documentation of the prophecies made a century earlier by Dostoyevsky concerning the rule of a totalitarian state founded and sustained by an arrogant denial of all Christian principles ("radical nihilism" was the popular term in Dostoyevsky's Russia). Solzhenitsyn, in turn, becomes a "prophet" in his own right in that his spiritual and moral urgency is united—however humbly and tentatively—with a vision of Orthodoxy intent, in its purer aspect, on manifesting that Truth which makes the struggle against evil and falsehood meaningful. Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn is not a Manichaean dualist, but simply an artist of great stature and moral integrity intent upon bearing witness to the reality of a Russian proverb that he quoted toward the end of his Nobel lecture: One word of truth outweighs the world.

Fr. Steven Kostoff
Topeka, Kan.

Once again this country, and the world, is indebted to Mr. Solzhenitsyn for his description of what the Communists have made of the USSR. And you are to be congratulated for arranging for and publishing this extraordinarily revealing document; a great piece of journalism. May we all merit this fine man's warning of what the USSR is like today, and conduct ourselves with the courage and intelligence required by the conclusions to be drawn from the picture so poignantly painted. Among other things, we must be on guard against the Soviets' constant dissemination of disinformation.

These lines from Aristotle are pertinent: "At best man is the noblest of all animals; separated from law and justice, he is the worst."

Arthur D. Welton
Oxford, Md.

Parental Rights

Federal Judge Garrity and the Boston school fiasco ["The Week," Jan. 21] stimulated a latent anger that has pervaded the country for nearly a decade.

Garrity's act provided a standard of miscarriage that is followed to this day by the federal judiciary system. The terms "court-ordered" and "mandated" busing describe the *tool* used to take juveniles from the

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legal custody of parents, thereby covering up the violation of Fourth Amendment protections of parental rights.

These are *individual* rights that legally cannot be set aside by court order or mass mandate. At the moment a child is carried away—to any place, for any purpose—without parental consent, legal custody is ipso facto taken away and placed at the disposition of others.

The victims of this usurpation were never in court, were denied representation in court, and were never advised of their rights. The lack of due process here is not mitigated by the high-mindedness of the intention.

As *NR* pointed out, the country-wide damage to the validity of school desegregation, initiated in Boston by Garrity, couldn't have been greater had it been planned to serve that purpose.

Garrity and all federal judges who have participated in this fraud should be exposed and charged with violating their oaths of office. Bill of Rights safeguards are beyond the reach of judicial mandate, even with misleading terms that attempt to validate the squalid process.

Albert G. Willing Jr.
Omaha, Neb.

French Foible

I must take exception to the *NR* editorial applauding French President Mitterrand's determination to increase the size of France's nuclear strike force ["The Week," Jan. 21].

In your zeal to applaud a fellow anti-Communist, you seem to have forgotten to ask where Mitterrand intends to get the money for this. The answer: by slashing the budget for conventional forces. In the event of a Soviet attack, these cuts would tend to lead France, and hence NATO, to put all its eggs in the nuclear basket, which is dangerous. Even more distressing, the cuts in the French navy in particular aim at giving a ready-made excuse for not coming to our aid if trouble should arise, say, in the Persian Gulf.

It doesn't matter how anti-Communist Mitterrand says he is; from the standpoint of American interests, his military program is bad news.

Mal Demer
New York, N.Y.

Bull's Eye

Congratulations to Mr. Joseph Sobran ["Mindsets," Dec. 24] for striking the proverbial nail. His exasperation with the media, which is felt by many of us, sifted through his article along with a clear perception of the fundamental problem with our news reporting. It was a refreshing bit of insight to those of us who know there is something wrong with the six o'clock news but cannot quite put a finger on it.

Peter M. Varela
Coeur d'Alene, Idaho

Alien?

I would like to comment on your September 3 editorial "First Duty," on the Simpson-Mazzoli Immigration Law. My purpose is not to address the specific items in that law, but to take issue with both the facts and the tone of your analysis of the "threat" we face.

First, current estimates are that our population will reach 260 to 270 million by the year 2000, and could easily go well over 300 million long before 2080, without significant help from "illegal immigrants." If your statement were true that more than one-third of our 2080 population would be descendants of persons arriving after 1980 (why the term "refugees"?), then the total population would be far, far larger than 300 million.

More objectionable than this somewhat vague numerical threat is the notion that "the newcomers are of a culture *indeed alien* to that of the United States." To whom does this refer: Cubans? Mexicans? Filipinos? Vietnamese? In fact, each group of immigrants, beginning at least with the Pennsylvania Dutch in the 1750s, has looked pretty alien to the preceding ones. Read what was written about the Irish in 1850, the Scandinavians in 1880, the Jews and Italians in 1900, and you will find sim-

a·poc·a·lyp·tic *adj.* **1:** foreboding imminent disaster or final doom

prem·ise *n.* **1a:** a proposition supposed as a basis of argument **b:** something assumed

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Technology's Promise

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There's nothing simple, of course, about the tasks on society's agenda today. Contemporary needs and challenges are the complex concomitants of a complex world. And meeting them will demand technologies more advanced, and with greater capabilities, than any that have gone before.

Ethically, technology is neutral. There is nothing inherently either good or bad about it. It is simply a tool, a servant, to be refined, directed and deployed by people for whatever purposes they want fulfilled.

In its best uses, technology is a means for solving problems and achieving objectives. It helps to improve life. It lets people do more things in better ways. Throughout history, it has functioned as the cutting edge of human progress. With his technology, man has overcome uncounted problems that burdened him for centuries.

Life as we know and want it would be impossible without modern technology—in agriculture, industry, communications, health care, transportation, housing, and a thousand other spheres.

So fast do times change, because of technology, that some people, disoriented by the pace, express yearning for simpler times. They'd like to turn back the technological clock. But longing for the primitive is utter folly. It is fantasy. Life was no simpler for early people than it is for us. Actually, it was far crueler.

Turning backward would not expunge any of today's problems. With technological development curtailed, the problems would fester even as the means for solving them were blunted. To curb technology would be to squelch innovation, stifle imagination, and cap the human spirit.

Technology to serve people must continue to be nurtured and strengthened and honed and put to the tasks in society that need to be done.

The challenge of our times is to foster its continued progress, to use it wisely, to manage it for our own greater benefit and the enrichment of life for those who follow. The full promise of technology lies in its development and use to make things better for all.

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ilar language, in far more lurid detail. All of those fears turned out to be wrong as well. The "underclass not readily assimilable" seems to be much more likely to be constituted largely of Americans whose ancestors have been here for many, many generations.

All current experience with our most recent residents shows them, taken as a whole, to be as eager as all their predecessors for assimilation and advancement in our society. In order for a country to show that it retains the power to determine residence and citizenship (as set forth in the Constitution), it need not exercise that power in a highly restrictive way.

Danny J. Boggs
Washington, D.C.

Public Property

Tom Bethell's article "Property of the Soviet Union" is excellent [Jan. 21]. He describes the economic consequences of vesting all ownership of property in the government. There is another equally destructive consequence: the elimination of personal liberty.

In 1920 I became well acquainted with a man who had been a close associate of Kerensky. He said to me, and I had never thought of it before, "The ownership of private property is the most important of all human rights." When people are deprived of the right to own property, they are enslaved. Nothing else needs to be done. He described in vivid detail the consequences to a man and his family when they were ordered out of their home. Their furniture, farming tools, house, and land were confiscated. Money in the bank was no longer theirs. In order for him and his children to eat, the man would do anything the Communist bosses ordered. He was a slave. No action was needed, except the confiscation of private property.

John W. Carrothers
Mill Valley, Calif.

Blessed Wagner

There are several facts that I would like to add to H. N. Kelley's article "Valhalla without Gods" [Dec. 24]. Under Hitler, all young Germans were drafted to serve in the armies of the Third Reich. If Wieland Wagner was allowed to sit out the war on the shores of Lake Constance, it was undoubtedly with the blessing of "Uncle Adolf."

Also, when Wieland and his brother, Wolfgang, were permitted to revive opera at Bayreuth after the war, there was a general lack of funds. Only by eliminating the elaborate scenery and costumes demanded by Richard Wagner could they hope to present a festival. Thus was born the neo-Bayreuth style: bare staging, minimal costumes, and a heavy reliance on lighting.

Ursula Müller
Munich

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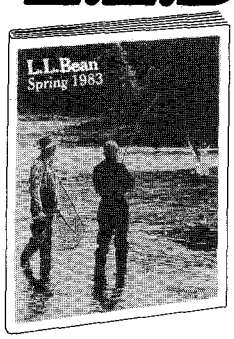

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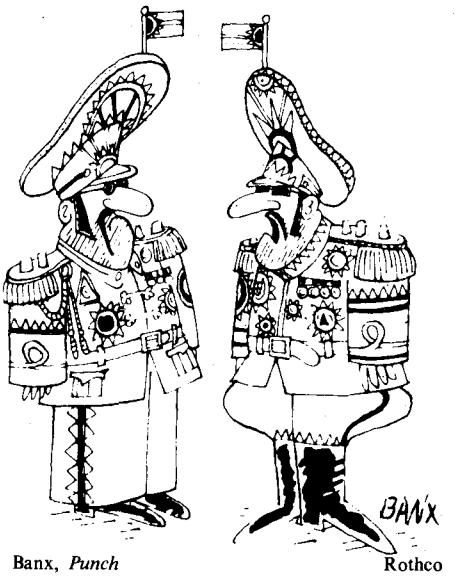
FOR THE RECORD

■ President **Reagan** stressed the virtues of bipartisan agreement in his State of the Union message, and he's getting it on his budget for FY 1984: both Democrats and Republicans are attacking it. Rep. **Silvio Conte** (Mass.), ranking GOP member of House Appropriations Committee, criticized cuts in health and welfare programs and warned that "there will be a hell of a shift to social programs, no doubt about it." . . . Seven conservative Republican congressmen have put Reagan on warning that they'll fight to extend freeze to military budget. The seven consist of three senators elected in 1980 with Reagan—**Charles Grassley** (Iowa), **Mack Mattingly** (Ga.), and **Don Nickles** (Okla.)—and four House members: **William Dannemeyer** (Calif.), **Newt Gingrich** (Ga.), **Denny Smith** (Ore.), and **Bob Walker** (Pa.). An across-the-board freeze, said Gingrich, is the "only step which is politically possible, which is simple and clear enough that the nation could rally to it." . . . **Lew Uhler**'s National Tax Limitation Committee, an early proponent of spending freeze, also wants freeze to extend to Pentagon. . . . Sen. **John Tower**, chairman of Senate Armed Services Committee, responded coolly to arms freeze. In a "Dear Colleague" letter, Tower invited every senator "to give me a list by March 1, 1983, of any defense-related project in his or her state where a reduction of expenditures could be made because such expenditure is not essential for national defense." . . . OMB Director **David Stockman**, testifying before House Appropriations Committee, said Reagan's proposed defense budget is only 5 per cent higher in "real" terms, discounting for inflation, than military spending was in 1970.

■ Taking advantage of infusion of new Democratic blood in 98th Congress, House Speaker **Tip O'Neill** plans major effort to place "cap" on third phase of Reagan tax cut and to bar indexing of tax brackets to adjust for inflation, scheduled to begin in 1985. Democratic National Committee Chairman **Charles Manatt** has also targeted tax indexation for elimination. Democrats want "bracket creep" money for domestic spending. . . . Despite "compromise agreement" on Social Security, Manatt's committee is sending out letter asking for $500,000 to counter a lobbying campaign "led by the ultra-conservative New Right" to cut Social Security benefits. Earlier Manatt letter on Social Security, mailed in December, netted $450,000 for Democratic war-chest. . . . As expected, Equal Rights Amendment is back on congressional agenda. "This is the last ERA resolution that is going to be introduced," said Sen. **Paul Tsongas** (D., Mass.), "because it's going to be passed and go on to become the law of the land." Sen. **Robert Packwood** (R., Ore.), long-time ERA supporter, says proposed amendment has 55 Senate co-sponsors. Speaking at press conference, **Phyllis Schlafly** predicted another ERA defeat: "The American people support real public officials who have the courage to tackle tough problems, not wimps who hide behind a phony symbol." . . . With the herd of Democratic presidential hopefuls growing ever larger, GOP officials are anxiously waiting for Reagan to declare, if only to prevent other Republicans from developing presidential aspirations.



Banx, *Punch* Rothco

"You know what I miss? Buying an off-the-rack suit."

■ Administration insiders are hoping **George Bush** hardens his view of **Yuri Andropov** during trip to Europe. In December interview, Bush told *Christian Science Monitor*'s **Godfrey Sperling Jr.**: "My view of Andropov is that some people make this KGB thing sound horrendous. Maybe I speak defensively as a former head of the CIA. But leave out the operational side of KGB—the naughty things they allegedly do. Here's a man who has had access to a tremendous amount of intelligence over the years. In my judgment he would be much less apt to misread the intentions of the United States." . . . Rep. **Larry McDonald** (D., Ga.) has written Reagan and CIA Director **William Casey** asking them to disclose information about U.S. effort to prevent Italians from investigating Soviet links to attempted assassination of **John Paul II**.

■ Going the rounds in Moscow: Not long after Israelis wiped out some eighty Syrian planes and Syrians wiped out zero Israeli planes in Lebanon fighting, a Syrian delegation visited Moscow to ask Soviet Defense Minister **D. F. Ustinov** for a new shipment of missiles. "What happened to the missiles we already sent you?" inquired Ustinov. "They were ground-to-air missiles," said the leader of the Syrians. "This time we want ground-to-plane missiles."

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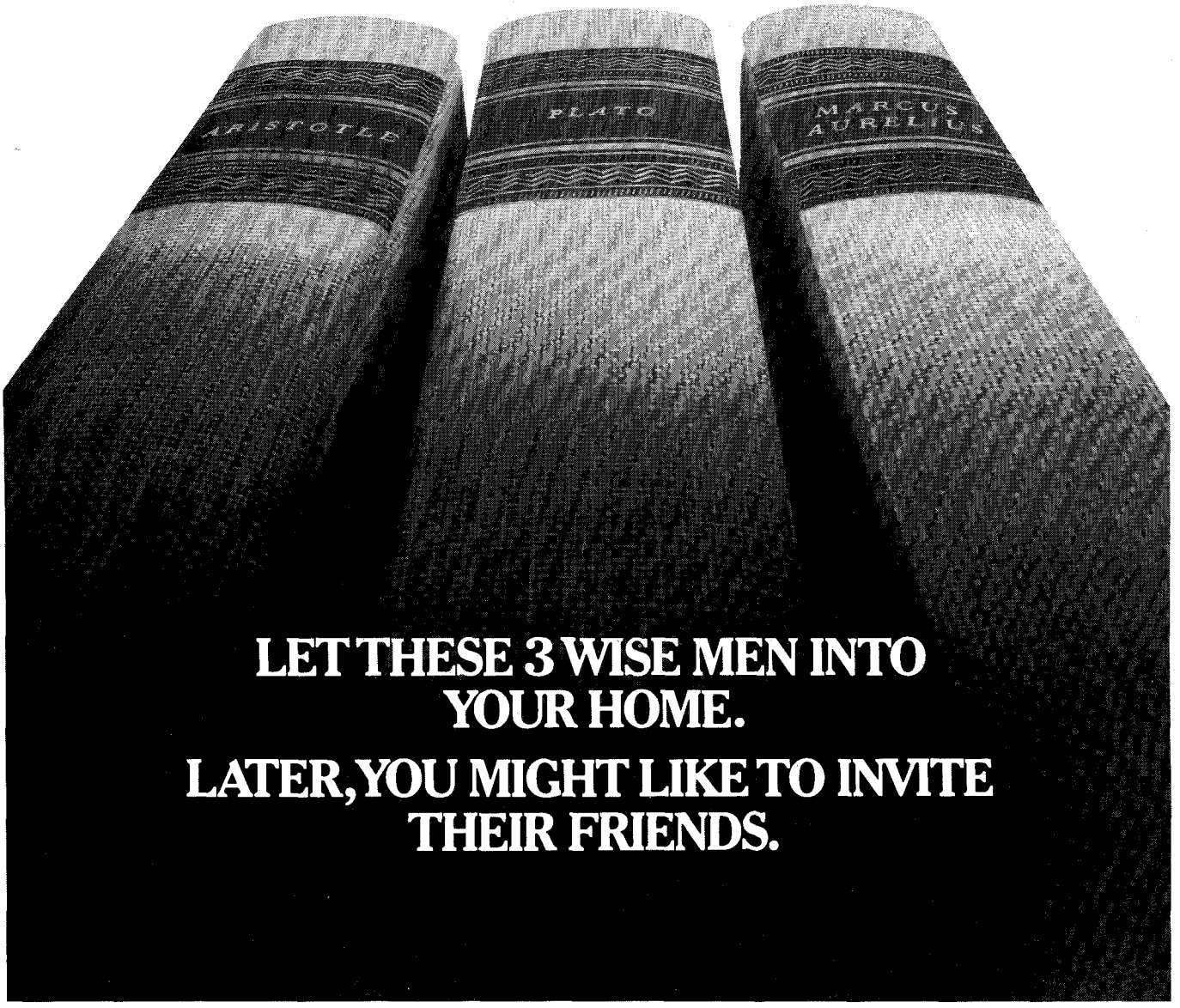

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THE WEEK

■ Mr. Reagan broke loose the other day, hoisted a beer with some workers in a pub, and told some businessmen that the corporate tax ought to be abolished—a point that every responsible economist since Adam Smith has insisted on. But, uh-oh, by the next morning Mr. Gergen was telling the press that no such measure was being seriously considered. By afternoon, abolishing the corporate tax was, by common consent from the White House on down, the worst idea that ever slipped from a man's tongue. Case closed. But the unguarded Mr. Reagan was exactly right—the corporate tax is a sham, turning corporations into tax collectors, with the tax passed on to consumers at a healthy mark-up. Abolish it.

■ The National Commission on Social Security Reform has issued a press release to correct its previous press release, in which it had incorrectly reported that its recommendations would save the system $168 billion over seven years. The amended figure was that the commission's recommendations would actually save the system $169 billion. This was reported in good humor (a billion here, a billion there . . .), and nobody mentioned that the commission has—far from saving anything at all—enhanced all the worst features of the system and added an enormous new tax burden, financed by confiscating private savings.

■ Glory be. The Administration has drafted proposals to speed up deregulation, most notably by prying loose the Interstate Commerce Commission's deathgrip on trucks, railroads, and buses. The commission would then "die in a few years." That's a good century and incalculable damage too late, but we wouldn't miss the funeral for anything.

■ For years the National Council of Churches, an organization composed of 32 Protestant and Orthodox denominations in the United States, has been faithfully rendering unto Marxist governments and guerrillas millions of dollars collected from naïve Christians back home. Although questions have occasionally been raised about this largesse, the NCC has usually managed to snuff out any brushfires before they became serious. But now the NCC has a conflagration on its hands, fanned by two powerful members of the media: *Reader's Digest* and *60 Minutes*. The January *Reader's Digest* carried a six-page article by Raël Jean Isaac exposing the NCC's promotion of revolutionary causes from Cuba to Vietnam and any place in between. Then, on January 23, *60 Minutes* used its scalpels on the NCC as well as on its parent organization, the World Council of Churches. In the past 13 years, *60 Minutes* declared, the NCC has collected some $5.5 million to help left-wing guerrillas in Zimbabwe, Namibia, Mozambique, and Angola. Query: Is it politically immoral to contribute financially to churches associated with the NCC and the WCC?

■ "Total failure," said the Saudi oil minister, describing OPEC's effort to preserve world oil price levels now that the cartel's share of non-Communist demand for petroleum has declined to 40 per cent. No doubt some producer countries will suffer withdrawal pangs, along with banks that predicated loans to them on now-deflated expectations. On the whole, though, the new realities are salutary. Administered prices will have to give way to the play of the market, with a correlative decrease in the ability of OPEC to play petroleum politics.

■ None of the grim fiftieth-anniversary sermons has seen fit to point out that Adolf Hitler was a socialist. We understand the impulses of Michael Harrington types to deny that Hitler was a "true" socialist, but this means only that he wasn't a very *nice* socialist. As far as objective classification goes, however, Hitler said it well: "It goes without saying that only a planned economy can make intelligent use of *all* a people's strength." Those words still sound like a truism to millions of people who think of themselves as obstacles to any resurgence of Hitlerism. It is one of the ironies of our time that "greed" is principally associated with private wealth, when in fact private property is a check on the most malignant greed of all: the rapacity of the state. As long as the state has the power of seizing a nation's wealth, Hitler—in a variety of uniforms—waits in the wings.

■ Jordan's King Hussein, visiting Moscow in December, was warned by Andropov himself that he could expect trouble if he cooperated with Reagan's Mideast peace plan. Hussein asked if that was a threat, and Andropov refused to clarify. More recently, TASS, which is not known as an independent, free-

The Principled Mr. Begin

Like porcupines, a man of principle
  Is difficult to cuddle on a couch.
When asked to give an inch, the eyebrows rise,
  And suddenly he's talking from a crouch.
Our diplomats abhor a porcupine,
But ain't it grand *somebody's* got a spine?

W. H. VON DREELE

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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

Two topics of conversation ebb and flow through the subterranean arteries of this city during these oddly balmy days of February, bubbling along and occasionally spouting into angry life, like hot geysers.

The first susurration has to do with the soon-to-be-reintroduced immigration bills—Alan Simpson's in the Senate, Peter Rodino and Romano Mazzoli's in the House. What engages people's attention, on and off the Hill, is not so much the often-discussed issues of illegals, like whether they should be made to carry identity cards, or be granted amnesty, or enjoy guest-worker status—in short, the question of how to regain control of our borders—but rather, the problem of the *legals*.

Where are the legal immigrants coming from? Answer: Asia and Latin America, including the Caribbean, and in that order. Slowly America is being de-Europeanized. This ongoing Asianization and Hispanicization of the country has not been confronted directly; yet, over the long haul, these new immigrants will determine the culture, politics, religion, economics, and ethos of America. Without prejudicing public policy one way or another, the talk goes, ought not the American people be given a chance to debate this phenomenon through their elected spokesmen in Congress?

The subject is loaded with sensitive ethnic questions, obviously, which means that our pusillanimous politicians will hang back. Indeed, only the Senate bill raised the matter of legal immigrants, the House having passed over it in silence. It can be argued, perhaps, that there is so much to engage the mind in the issues raised by illegals that the House was wise in targeting them alone last year. But now, Washington opinion has it, the public deserves full and fair discussion of what the new immigrant blood will mean to the nation. Once the immigration laws are revised, it will probably be ten or twenty years before the matter is taken up systematically again; thirty years have elapsed since the last major revision.

The second topic that rages through the subterranean talk sluices of the Capitol is the acrimony that has developed between two species of conservatives over the issue of Pentagon spending. The first group is made up of military "reformers" who favor high defense spending but want the whole appropriations process re-examined from top to bottom. The second group consists of traditionalists, stand-patters on defense who tend to believe that any criticism of how the Pentagon spends its money, however honorably motivated, only plays into the hands of the Gary Harts of this world. The criticism may be right, they say, but don't betray the clan. To the reformers, this attitude is a bit reminiscent of Jimmy Carter's treatment of left-wing nations: they may be breaching human rights, but you just don't admit it. Only the right-wing nations get the heat.

What has brought the issue into sharp focus is a study done by George W. S. Kuhn for the Reaganite conservative think-tank, the Heritage Foundation, and published in its *Agenda '83*, a blueprint for what the Administration should do next. Kuhn is unrelenting in his criticism of the Pentagon. "Our defense establishment has stagnated," he asserts. "Planning and force development decisions" are unrealistic and exceed "the capacity of even generous budgets." Kuhn decries "the overemphasis on long-shot technology that has diverted attention away from the most vital considerations of all: leadership, tactics, and unit structure and training."

Kuhn is backed up by the bipartisan military reform caucus in Congress, the Congressional Budget Office, some Pentagon analysts, and certain conservative thinkers like the Georgetown scholar Stephen Canby and the noted (more than eighty books) Pentagon historian and analyst, Trevor N. Dupuy. The press, including *U.S. News & World Report*'s editor Marvin Stone (who wrote a one-page editorial praising the study), has been uniformly favorable. Newt Gingrich, one of the leading conservative lights in Congress, also stands squarely behind the Kuhn piece.

Be that as it may, Heritage has taken more than one fusillade of criticism since the report was published, from both inside (its board) and outside. Ed Feulner, Heritage's president, defends the study, as does his director of research, Burt Pines, but both are more than a trifle concerned about their money spigot being slowed or even turned off. Also, they are expecting that at the upcoming Conservative Political Action Conference, Senator John Tower, General Dan Graham, and defense analyst William R. Van Cleave may well try to blow the Kuhn study out of the water, arguing that so-called military reform is a myth.

■ Shortly after Congress reconvened, Phyllis Schlafly brought a bevy of volunteers to Capitol Hill and turned them loose on some fifty members of Congress who co-sponsored the fresh-from-the-grave Equal Rights Amendment II. To every co-sponsor, a volunteer delivered a wedge of quiche, each bearing a tiny sign inscribed, "Real Men Don't Draft Women." *Verb sap.* —CATO

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wheeling organization, advised the Japanese that they could expect a fate worse than what happened to them in 1945 if they should go along with the joint defense arrangements with the United States. *This* threat, presumably designed to forestall the deployment of F-16 planes in Japan, which would have the capability of reaching Soviet targets, was promptly and properly shrugged off by Premier Yasuhiro Nakasone's government, but neutralist nerves in Japan have been rubbed raw. In the early months of his rule, Andropov has thus set a tone of unambiguous harshness—not to mention his attempt, through the KGB, upon the Pope—while at the same time winning points in disarmament circles in the West as being less dangerous than Reagan.

■ Rumors have been floating around Japan for 15 years concerning the offenses of a biological warfare unit in Harbin, Manchuria, during World War II. Strictly speaking, the 2,600-member outfit was not waging biological warfare but experimenting in it—a laboratory rather than an operating unit. Its three thousand Chinese, Korean, and Russian victims were prisoners rather than combatants. The Japanese culprits later made full disclosure to U.S. occupation authorities as a condition for escaping prosecution for war crimes—a condonable tradeoff, for the U.S. was intent on learning about the potentials for biological warfare and methods for countering it. The story, known before only in general terms, is now out in excruciating detail in a best-selling book—more than a million

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copies last year—by one Seiishi Morinurra titled *Gluttony of the Devil.* A government spokesman has owned up to the authenticity of the account—"during the most extraordinary wartime conditions"—in a statement to the Diet. Fortunately, the Japanese never put into full use what their experiments had adduced. But what might have deterred them from doing so? The best deterrent is a countering capability. Such was our thought in connection with the House's quixotic attempt, fortunately nullified by a House-Senate conference committee, to prevent the U.S. from maintaining a capability for countering—and therefore deterring—chemical warfare.

■ So, it develops that eight Peruvian journalists were jumped and killed by peasants who could not distinguish the journalists from leftist guerrillas. Come to think of it, we have the same problem ourselves sometimes.

■ Yale University continues its battle with the *Yale Literary Magazine*, showing, as Dwight Macdonald wrote of an earlier run-in, with the author of *God and Man at Yale*, all the grace of an elephant cornered by a mouse. Yale has ordered the *Lit* to surrender the Yale name on the grounds that university regulations require Yale groups to be run by students or professors (the *Lit* is published by an alumnus, class of '78). The *Lit* has taken Yale to court charging that the regulations—formulated after the new management of the *Lit* took over—were maliciously and illegally aimed at it. The real animus is political. Andrei Navrozov, the offending alumnus, explains: The *Lit* "dissents from the existing orthodoxy [i.e., it runs conservative political articles]. President Giamatti doesn't want to have a source of political and cultural dissent on his hands." The *New York Times* reported the same thing: "Privately," the *Lit*'s critics "talk about Navrozov's 'raucous, anti-liberal, new-cold-war' politics." *60 Minutes* has filmed a segment on the controversy. Poor Yale. Poor Giamatti. *O tempora, O Mory's.*

■ Okay. Maybe Yuri Andropov *did* arrange the shooting of the Pope. But let's not lose all perspective. At least he hasn't made war on the poor, repealed the corporate income tax, or flaunted a pair of fancy cowboy boots during a period of high unemployment.

■ The Soviet Union, that good and great defender of the faith, has scorched critics of the American Catholic bishops for their stand on nuclear weapons. Glad *somebody* cares about the bishops.

■ Enlightened Swedish censors have banned the film *E.T.* because it would cause mental injury to children between seven and 11 years old. We are never going to understand Sweden.

■ NATIONAL REVIEW has learned from sources within the camp of Senator Edward Kennedy that before his sudden withdrawal from the race, his campaign had the central theme already chosen: "Why not the worst?"

■ A meter maid in Boston ticketing an illegally parked car somehow failed to notice a bullet-riddled body slumped behind the wheel, and it's not clear who's going to pay the fine.

■ Not that it means anything, necessarily, but Rabbi Korff has reportedly been seen in the vicinity of the White House.

State of the Union

I. At Home: A Question of Tone

The dowsers who have been examining Ronald Reagan's State of the Union message for hidden wells of political meaning fall into two schools of interpretation—those who see it as a holdout, and those who see it as a sellout.

The case for the holdout view—that the President stuck to his guns and conceded nothing of real importance—is weighty, and rests on the substance of the speech. Reagan blamed the economic malaise squarely, and justly, on the actions of his predecessors. Specifically, he blamed runaway domestic spending—up 60 per cent since 1970. The proposed federal spending freeze was targeted accordingly. (In one case—federal salaries—the freeze applies also to the military, which accounts for much of the $55-billion military "cut.") He refused, contrary to the advice of almost every establishmentarian economist and every Democrat, to abandon the 10 per cent cut in income tax rates scheduled for July. The contingency tax slated for 1985 is just that—a contingency, dependent on previous congressional belt-tightening and on future deficits. Real military spending will rise in spite of the cutback, and Congress was warned to expect the return of the MX come spring. The outright blunders in the speech were either trivial (the program to modernize the nation's ports) or, when serious, already history (endorsing the flawed recommendations of the blue-ribbon Social Security panel). Reagan supported, in passing, free trade, tuition tax credits, and a school-prayer amendment, and promised reform of the criminal justice statutes, along lines to be proposed by the Task Force on Victims of Crime, whose name, one hopes, suggests where *it* will be coming from.

But speeches also play a tune to their words, derived as much from the context and from what they don't say as from what they do; and the music of

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Reagan's address was something the holdout school has a harder time explaining. Again and again, points were emphasized or not emphasized in ways that seemed odd, or self-contradictory, or foolish.

What was the point of announcing the Administration's determination to redress inequalities suffered by women and blacks? Does the Administration believe that women are in any relevant way unequal? Or that blacks, who are, will be helped by the means cited—continuing the Civil Rights Commission? (Abolishing the minimum wage would do real good.) Does the Administration think that those who cherish such issues will be won over by rhetorical peace-offerings?

The concerns of black and feminist tub-thumpers received two paragraphs. The social issues Reagan touched on, concerns of his own constituency, got about half that. Some social issues got nothing at all. Abortion may have been judged insufficiently unpopular to be hit in a State of the Union address. But why avoid busing and reverse discrimination, which everyone outside the Beltway dislikes?

If the 1985 contingency tax is, as Reagan seemed to suggest, something of a last resort, why mention it at all? Liberals will agitate to transform contingency into necessity, and shove 1985 up to 1983—all, they will argue, following in Reagan's hesitant footsteps. Let the pro-tax party plant its own axioms.

Why, finally, the repeated appeals to bipartisanship, including congratulations to Tip O'Neill for collaborations past? Ronald Reagan surely knows better than anyone that he is dealing with a rabble of big spenders, opportunists, and appeasers who want him back on the ranch and all his works undone. This is why political holding patterns rarely succeed. The enemy almost never holds. If you aim to stay the course, you will be shoved off it.

The only justification for such a conciliatory strategy—and it is a plausible one—is that it is a trap. When Tip and friends pitch in and raise hell, as they will, Reagan can turn to the country and, recalling his offer of bipartisanship, brand them as obstructionists, malcontents, wreckers. He can veto their grossest outrages, take his case to the people, hope for the economic recovery that the signs seem to indicate, and come down the homestretch into 1984 on a steamroller. If instead he meets them halfway, adjusts his programs to "realities," accepts "pragmatic" deals commended to him by Reston columns and Herblock cartoons, he will, when the steamroller chuffs, be under it.

II. Abroad: No More Illusions

President Reagan's speech focused, as his term has largely focused, on domestic matters. Recently, columnist Patrick Buchanan noted an interview in which Vice President Bush remarked, rather fatuously, that "Ronald Reagan has the opportunity to be a real peace

President." Buchanan's comments provide a good primer for Reagan's, or Bush's, next major foreign-policy pronouncement.

"The only way Ronald Reagan can become a 'real peace President' in 1983 is to strike the kind of 'deal' with Yuri Andropov that will make him the dupe, the pigeon of 1985. Consider the fate of our last 'detente.'

"The centerpiece of Detente I, inaugurated by Richard Nixon, consisted, first, of a strategic-arms agreement and, second, of a 'new relationship,' replacing the old 'era of confrontation' with an 'era of competition.' Neither side, under the Code of Detente, was to seek unilateral advantage at the expense of the other."

But the SALT I agreement fell through. Kissinger's " 'understanding' with Leonid Brezhnev that the 'light' SS-11 missile would not be replaced with a 'heavy' missile was no understanding at all. The guarantees he gave Congress, based on conversations with the Soviets, proved worthless. The SS-11 missiles were replaced with giant, silo-busting SS-19s, missiles larger, more accurate, more destructive than any missile in the American land-based arsenal—and carrying twice as many warheads.

"As for the 'bridge building' and 'confidence building' measures, we more than did our part. Controls on U.S. technology transfers were everywhere relaxed. U.S. computers were sent to Moscow. Eighty billion dollars in credit would eventually go to the Warsaw Pact. Yalta was ratified—by the Republicans.

"We kept our end of the bargain. Did the Soviets?" Buchanan calls the roll. It is long and dark. Ethiopia . . . sub-Saharan Africa . . . Afghanistan . . . the crushing of Eastern European human-rights movements . . . *Mais où sont les pièges d'antan?*

"Who, then," Buchanan concludes, "destroyed detente? Surely it was not Nixon and Kissinger, who in-

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Tip O'Neill, Budget Balancer

He'd be happy to scuttle the Trident;
He'd adore doing in the MX.
As for Stealth, he believes it's a flimsy strip-tease,
And he's all for reviewing the specs.
Putting missiles on battleships bugs him.
B-1 bomber fleets give him a pain.
But he pounds on his chest if you dare to suggest
An entitlement's causing a drain.

W. H. VON DREELE

augurated it; and Jimmy Carter and Cyrus Vance simply are not credible as saboteurs of peaceful coexistence. The answer, of course, is that the Soviets killed detente; or more exactly, *detente never existed*, except in the minds of Western politicians and Western peoples.

"The problem is not a lack of flexibility or good will. Nor is it a lack of imagination or skill on the part of the President. The problem is systemic. Detente with the Soviet Union is simply unattainable, because the Soviet Union cannot survive permanent peaceful competition with the West. The closed Soviet society, the wretched police state, the ridiculous Marxist economic system cannot stand permanent side-by-side comparison with the material blessings of democratic capitalism, and, more important, the individual rights and freedoms that are the birthright of Western peoples. For the Soviet empire to endure, the West must be eliminated, liquidated, eradicated, as a political entity.

"Politically, it may be impossible to sell so painful a truth to a people so congenitally optimistic and hopeful as the Americans. Still, that is no excuse for lying to us."

The Budget and the Veto

The past four years have seen one of the greatest explosions in federal spending in American history: from 21.4 per cent of gross national product in 1979, to 23.6 per cent in 1981, to 25.7 per cent in 1983. Presumably a child born today will live to see it reach 100 per cent, should he wish to live so long. Except for the minority share that consists of defense increases, this spending explosion receives almost no notice in popular explanations of deficits, recession, and high interest rates; instead, these problems are blamed on the one factor that has not varied much as a share of GNP over those four years, tax receipts.

The 1984 budget President Reagan sent to Congress January 31 is unlikely to reverse (or even to freeze, as it is intended to do) this pattern. The budget does, to be sure, call for a slight rollback, to 24.7 per cent of GNP. As a rough rule of thumb, however, taxpayers can consider themselves to have gotten off easy if spending comes in at two GNP percentage points over a President's budget: one spent in log-rolling to win congressional approval, and one revealed in mid-year and after-the-fact revisions when food stamps and other entitlements burst through their meaningless "caps" and make supplemental appropriations necessary.

Indeed, we may well hope that Congress and President Reagan fail to come to any budget agreement. Then, at last, Reagan might be induced to reach for his veto weapon, the only reliable defense he has against congressional overspending on discretionary programs. Up to now, the supposed need to achieve consensus at whatever cost (to coin a phrase, let us call it the pre-compromise compromise) has kept the Administration supporting budgets that can pass Congress—that is, budgets held hostage by Senator Hatfield of Oregon and Representative Conte of Massachusetts.

Kick Them, Mr. President

Let's return to Reagan and that corporate income tax for a moment. This country prides itself on uninhibited discussion, but evidently there are limits. It is one thing for Walter Mondale to address a homosexual fund-raiser; it is another for Reagan to criticize the corporate income tax. And so the media treated the President's tentative and hedging remark that "in our tax structure, the corporate tax is hard to justify" as a rude ideological belch.

Never mind the merits of the idea; never mind that Western European nations have backed away from two-tiered taxes against capital; never mind that Lester Thurow joins Milton Friedman in wanting the corporate tax repealed. For Reagan to say as much is a four-alarm gaffe.

"I realize that there will be a great stirring and I will probably kick myself for having said this," Reagan apologized by way of preface; and sure enough, the next day he told newsmen he had duly administered the kick to himself. He had, he knew, affronted the etiquette of socialism in a way the Mondales and Kennedys do not; and his departure from the authorized code words and canned responses drew onto him the wrath of the censors, whom Patrick Buchanan aptly describes as our "half-educated thought police."

Reagan knew what he was doing. But he was forced to abase himself anyway for departing from the prescribed ritualisms. If we are ever going to have what is called "meaningful dialogue" in our politics, unpacking the ideologies embedded in the ritualisms will have to be given a very high intellectual priority. You can't really talk about the real world if you are only permitted to speak liberalese.

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A Bright Idea?

When Lane Kirkland and the AFL-CIO Executive Council announced, last fall, their plan to take an active part in the Democratic presidential primary process, criticism centered on their abrogation of the AFL-CIO's traditional (nominal) political independence (see, e.g., "The Week," Sept. 17, 1982).

A far more piquant problem involves the tactical considerations of the various candidates. Walter Mondale, for example, is already the de facto candidate of the labor establishment, and his requirement is to disengage himself from that image. For him, an outright endorsement would be a decidedly mixed blessing.

But that problem pales in the face of the problems the labor-endorsed candidate would face in the general election:

Q: Mr. Mondale, under present federal law, unions are exempt from prosecution for crimes of extortion so long as the objective of the extortion is a "legitimate" union goal. Do you favor continuation of this special-interest exemption?

Q: Mr. Mondale, according to cautious estimates, the Davis-Bacon Act, under which the Department of Labor sets wages on federally financed construction projects, causes the wasting of about $2.3 billion a year in taxpayers' money. The only beneficiaries of the act are the unions, which support you. Where do you stand on repeal of Davis-Bacon?

Q: Mr. Mondale, for some years now the unions have advocated a federal law pre-empting state laws on public employees. This federal legislation would legalize strikes by public-employee unions, such as the air controllers. Where do you stand on legalizing strikes against the government?

Countless questions of that sort could and would be pressed. The unions might well end up supporting their candidate the way the rope supports the hanged man.

The Administration And the MX

Ronald Reagan's problems with the MX go back a long way, to before he took office, and they are now part of a much larger problem. During the 1980 campaign, he treated the multiple protective shelter (MPS) basing plan as a joke. He called it a "shell game" and spoke with derision of its "race track" appearance, leaving many with the impression that the system was too costly and overly complicated. Once in office, Reagan and Secretary of Defense Weinberger buried the Carter race-track plan and set out to develop a different basing plan. The problem is that Carter had long before given up the race-track plan. After years of wrangling, the Air Force had finally prevailed on him to deploy two hundred MX missiles, each to be infrequently *trucked* (on roads, not on an underground railroad system) among 23 identical shelters arranged in a linear pattern. What Reagan and Weinberger killed was the Air Force's plan, not Jimmy Carter's. What's more, there was substantial backing in Congress for MPS, and a pro-defense mood in the country at large as Ronald Reagan took office.

Over the next 18 months, Weinberger and his commissions re-invented the wheel a number of times, dredging up the same ideas rejected by the Carter and Ford Administrations. Even losers such as launching MXs from C-5 cargo planes or other aircraft were seriously considered, no matter how unworkable they had already been proven to be. October 1981 saw another false start: in a press conference in which he demonstrated a less than complete grasp of the subject, President Reagan announced that the first forty of the one hundred (down from two hundred) MX missiles would be placed in existing silos, superhardened for additional protection. The rest would be deployed in a basing mode to be named later. Congress refused to go along, citing the Administration's own arguments on the window of vulnerability.

Months later came dense pack, a/k/a closely spaced basing (CSB), and Peacekeeper, the new name for MX. The CSB concept is deceptively simple, relying on the effects of the first-arriving large Soviet warheads to destroy, deflect, or otherwise disrupt the rest of the Soviet ICBM barrage. The plan has the advantage of using less space than MPS, and it also brings antiballistic missiles back into public view. But the public has difficulty with many technical issues involved in defense, and the realm of multiple, high-yield nuclear weapons and their fratricidal effects is an area in which very few experts are competent. Without adequate preparation of the public or Congress, the action of the lame-duck Congress was predictable. What was less predictable was that without putting up a fight, and before pro and con arguments had had a fair hearing, President Reagan backed away from CSB, saying that the missile itself is more important than the basing mode. The MX may be dead, or it may not. If it lives at all, it will surely be delayed.

President Reagan, with his budget battles in the foreground, has only recently begun to speak out on national-security issues. His is, however, but one voice, and he needs help. Cap Weinberger seems unable to speak comfortably on defense subjects aside from budgetary numbers. Public support cannot, however, be galvanized behind platoons of numbers and squadrons of figures. The people need to know the nature and extent of the threat and what we must do to meet it. Who can get excited about abstract billions of dollars appropriated in a budget? Why should we care whether the total is $210 billion or $240 billion?

The defense picture has improved considerably over

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the past two years, but one would be hard pressed to know how, based on Administration pronouncements. The use of budget figures without the reasons for them invites treating the defense budget like any other part of the federal budget, fair game for deficit-reducing cuts. Unless the Administration gets its act together and stops squandering public support for defense, the MX fiasco is just the beginning.

Go Jump in the Lake

The way I see it, seven banks
May soon be walking seven planks
Because some foreign loans they made
Will, when pigs whistle, be repaid.
I gather, further, we must pray
That spot oil prices don't decay,
Lest deadbeat customers default
And Big Banks murmur, "*Oy, gevalt.*"

W. H. VON DREELE

Exit, Pursued By A Bare Endorsement

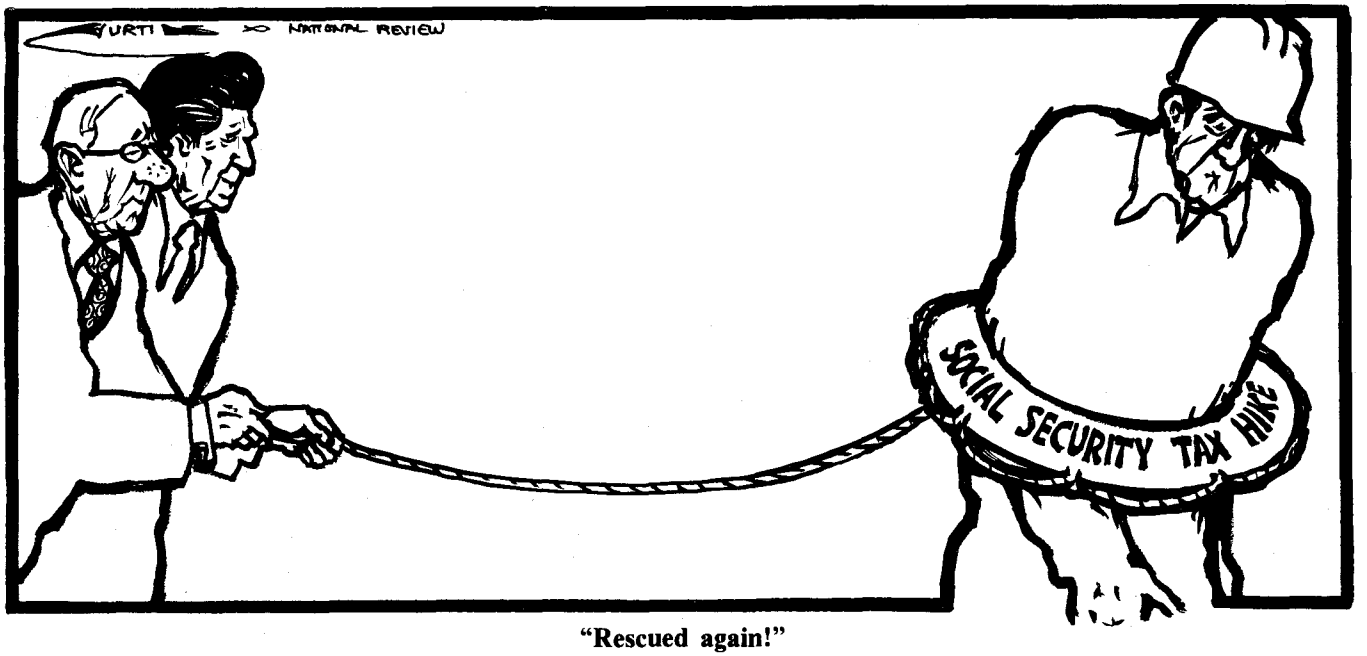
When Canadian Tory leader Joe Clark addressed last week's party conference he was fighting for his political life. Despite the Tories' huge lead in the polls, the party was deeply divided and fearful. Many Tories ascribed their lead to the recession and Trudeauphobia; with an election not due for at least a year, both the recession and Trudeau could be gone, replaced respectively by recovery and an appealing new face. What would not be replaced would be the perpetual Liberal government.

Clark was widely seen as a loser after he blew the Tory advantage by letting his government lose a vote of confidence in the House at a time when the party trailed in the polls. Party regulars despaired of his staff, his media relations, and the devastating perception among educated urban voters that he was a wimp. In 1981 he had obtained a two-thirds endorsement at the conference, but even he admitted this was unsatisfactory. Caucus dissidents swung into action and a broad consensus developed that party unity would be restored only if he improved his score.

Just before this year's vote Clark gave the delegates another wooden plea to stick with him as a matter of party loyalty. Despite frantic organizing by Clark's supporters, he won the identical percentage this time, and was forced to call for a convention to settle the question. Erik Nielsen has taken over as interim opposition leader.

Although Clark could still win at the convention, his chances are remote. Several formidable candidates are expected to enter the lists, including provincial premiers Lougheed of Alberta and Davis of Ontario.

Clark's defeat is good news for Canadian conservatives, who have watched the party drift from electoral defeat into ideological aimlessness. The Tories have won just one outright majority in the last 14 federal elections—the Diefenbaker sweep of 1958. The party has suffered from weak leadership, and from trying to gratify all voters rather than standing for discernible conservative principles. Its political valetudinarianism has made even the Trudeau Liberals look like a robust option. Until last week, there were no solid reasons for optimism about the Tories. Now two alluring prospects emerge: they might get a lead-



"Rescued again!"

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er who can win, and that leader could be a conservative.

Is there a Canadian Margaret Thatcher?

Bear Bryant, R I P

My daddy didn't want me to play football. He said he'd whip me if I did. He wanted me to farm, period. But I got Mama on my side. . . . Mama took my high-top black shoes down to Mr. Clark, the shoemaker, and had him put some cleats on them. Boy, talk about proud! I wore those cleats to football, to class, to Sunday school. I wore them in the house, everywhere, clomping around and making a terrible racket. They were the only shoes I had.

—Paul Bryant to John Underwood, Bear *(1974)*

Like all authentic Southern legends, he was of the soil. "If I hadn't found football," he once said, "I'd have ended up behind a mule, just like my daddy. But I'll tell you one thing. I'd have plowed the straightest damned furrow in Arkansas."

Scratch the legend, find the farmer: tough, proud, single-minded. First at Maryland, then at Kentucky, then at Texas A&M, finally at his alma mater, the University of Alabama, there was nothing fancy about the way he went about his trade: just hitch up the mule and set your course for the season.

I could sense they were something special. I told them what football should mean to them, and what the program would be. Then I challenged them. I said, "What are you doing here?" And I waited. I said, "What are you doing here? Tell me why you're here. If you're not here to win the national championship, you're in the wrong place."

At the end, there were 38 seasons, six national championships, more victories than any other coach in college football history. And generations of players who cried at his passing because, as someone said, he didn't coach football, he coached people. Coached them in the values he had learned back in Moro Bottom, Ark., clomping around in those cleated black shoes. He had a serious concern for his players and their education: not many play pro, he told them.

Well, we're supposed to be living in a very sophisticated time, with sophisticated young people, all worldly-wise and knowledgeable. How can a game of football still be important in that context? I'll tell you how I feel. It's more important than ever. What else have we got to tie to? Let me ask you this. Have you taught your children to work? To sacrifice? Have you taught them self-discipline? Hell, no. They don't get it in the home, they don't get it in the schoolhouse, they don't even get it in church the way they used to. Check up. Look around. Maybe the football field's the only place left.

So it was that in the age of television-made instant legends, he was *sui generis*, the last of an old breed, plowing the straight furrow in a game uniquely ours. Football: as American as hot dogs and apple pie. As American as Bear Bryant.

Somebody once asked me, "Don't you consider yourself an innovator? A stylesetter?"

"No," I said, "I ain't nothin' but a winner."

—Victor Gold

Notes & Asides

■ Dear Bill:

I can't believe you would be taken in by the Hertz six-inch ruler ["Notes & Asides," Feb. 4]. Olson and Bidwell have sent out about two million of them. What happened was, Hertz bought a heavy lucite company for $86 a share just when the recession started. The demand for lucite plummeted and they found themselves stuck with the rulers. Rather than admit they were involved in a disastrous takeover, they told the stockholders they bought the company to get a wholesale price on six-inch rulers.

I have one on my desk right now. I have no idea what to do with a six-inch ruler. My columns run seven and a half inches, so it's useless for my work. Unemployment is now at ten and a half inches. The gross national product is less than one inch. The deficit will hit two hundred billion inches.

In answer to your question, I did receive the ruler. Now my question to you is, What the hell are *you* doing with it? If Hertz thinks I'm going to rent a car from them because they gave me a lucite paperweight, they're nuts. Dave Mahoney of Avis sent me a 1982 Mercury he couldn't rent even on a TV commercial.

My best to you and your lovely wife.

Art [Buchwald]
Washington, D.C.

Dear Art: I surrender. Cordially, Bill

■ Dear Bill:

"Sandia estimated that the chance of a meltdown coinciding with a ruptured containment was about *a thousand times less likely*" (than a meltdown with intact containment. *NR*, November 26, 1982, page 1454. Italics mine).

That quote precipitated this dissertation, the subject of which is: quantitative comparisons of magnitudes.

The purpose of a QCM is to make thought and evaluation easier for the reader. A QCM refers a magnitude unfamiliar to the reader to a familiar mag-

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nitude so that he can get a feel for its size. Moderate distances and the dimensions of things have long been referred to the length of the human foot or to the distance from the tip to the first knuckle of the human thumb, objects every human being is presumed to be familiar with.

Every QCM implies an equation connecting the two magnitudes compared, a set of arithmetical operations on the magnitude presumed to be known that, properly performed, will result in the less familiar magnitude. The framer of a QCM should have firmly in mind both the implied equation and some acceptable unit of measurement. Failure in this regard often results in a ridiculous implication, or a simply wrong one, or an entirely meaningless one.

The quote above illustrates the ridiculous category. Chances of something happening are usually expressed as probabilities. A probability must be a fraction between zero and one, or a percentage between zero and one hundred. For the sake of illustration, let's say that the probability—likelihood—of a meltdown with intact containment is 0.001. (Far too high, but the comparison ought to give possible results no matter the particular numbers.) "Times" implies multiplication: $1{,}000 \times 0.001 = 1.000$. "Less" implies subtraction: $0.001 - 1.000 = -0.999$. As far as I know, no one has ever defined the meaning of a negative probability. A negative probability would imply that the event is even less likely than impossible.

To illustrate the importance of having an acceptable unit in mind, consider the statement, "Amelia is ten times as beautiful as Betty." Except as a figure of speech, this statement is meaningless, because there is no accepted unit of beauty. (The helen has been suggested as a unit of feminine pulchritude: That quantity sufficient to launch a thousand ships. The practical unit would be the quantity sufficient to launch one ship, the millihelen. The unit of ugliness then is the antimillihelen: The quantity required to sink one battleship.)

However, comparisons should generally be made in terms of positive quantities, rather than in terms of reciprocal, negative, or complementary quantities. There are no accepted units for thinness, lightness, shortness, nearness, smallness, narrowness. There are accepted units for thickness, heaviness, length, distance, size, width.

A few quantities have well-established reciprocal units, e.g., electrical resistance and conductance: the mho is the reciprocal of the ohm. Other quantities have well-recognized complementary quantities, e.g., emptiness is the complement of fullness, purity is the complement of contamination or impurity. The trouble with using negative quantities in QCMs *unless* the reciprocal or complementary quantity is well-established is that your reader will have to ponder whether to take the reciprocal or the complement of the unit you imply, and may not be able to decide. Even if *you* have decided. This is very bad, because, after all, the purpose of a QCM is to help the reader, not give him problems.

A final caveat: Because the purpose of the QCM is to help the reader, not hinder him, try to keep the mental arithmetic required as simple as possible. If you ask him to multiply or divide, don't then ask him to follow that with an addition or subtraction. For example, suppose $A = 100$ and $B = 400$. There are several true statements that could be made about those numbers. For example, you might say: B is 300 greater (or more) than A. You could say: B is four times A. You could say: B is three times greater (or more) than A. That last has two disadvantages: it requires the reader to make a multiplication followed by an addition, and it can be ambiguous. Too many people, including most newspaper reporters, think that three times A means the same thing as three times more than A. It doesn't, of course, but even those who know better may not know whether *you* know better. There is no way to mistake the meaning of the statement: B is four times A. Or four times as much as A, or four times as great as A.

I just read an AP news item which stated that an intelligence satellite "can determine the position of a point on the earth's surface with an accuracy of 95 per cent." That sounds impressively accurate until you ask what it means. If the calculated position of the point in question is right on top of that point, then the accuracy would surely be 100 per cent. But how far away does the calculated position have to be from the true position for the accuracy to be 0 per cent? For the statement to have any meaning there has to be a distance—measured, say, in yards—where the accuracy is nil; then 95 per cent accuracy is attained at a distance just 95/100 of that. But the accuracy is not zero even if you know only that the point is somewhere in the state of Texas, say, or even that it is somewhere in North America, or in the Northern Hemisphere.

Cordially,
Bill [Woods]
Oak Ridge, Tenn.

Dear Bill: When we trip up with QCM, I wish we were one hundred times closer to Oak Ridge! Cordially,
Bill

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Have you ever tried haruspicy as an aid for political prognostication? I always wanted to try it, but never had the guts.

Respectfully,
G. P. Lucchetti

Dear Mr. Lucchetti: How do you know you don't have the guts? Have you ever examined them? Have a look—and proceed to soothsay. Cordially, **—WFB**

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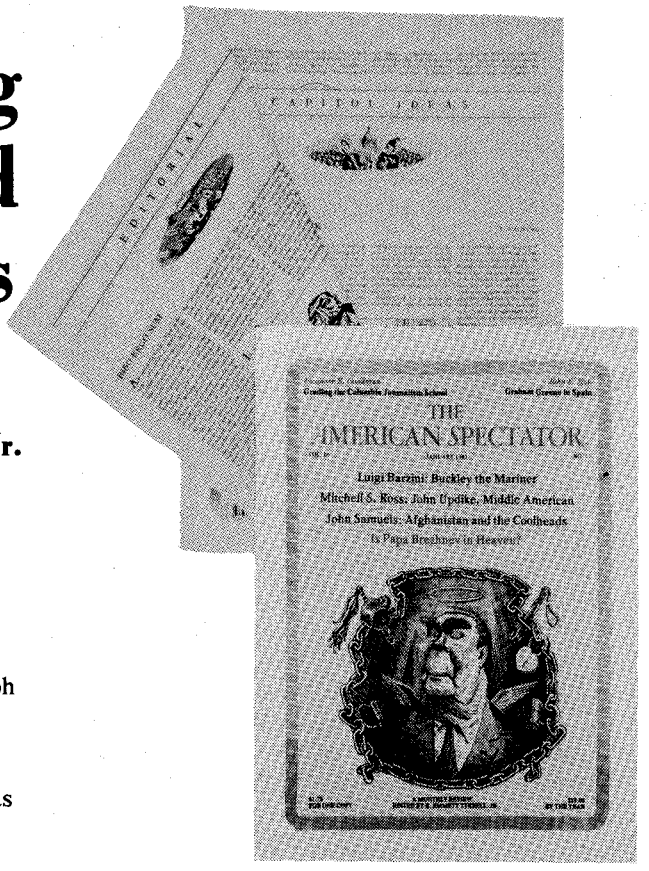
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Challenge and Response — The Protracted Conflict

BRIAN CROZIER

As I write, Vice President George Bush is preparing for his tour of allied countries in Western Europe, during which, we are told, his mission will be to stiffen the will of government leaders to deploy Pershing II and cruise missiles.

So emotional is the issue of nuclear weapons that it constitutes the perfect field for Soviet or Soviet-backed propaganda. Let me be more precise. The enormous growth of the "freeze" and unilateralist movements in the United States and Western Europe is in one sense more apparent than real. And it is not, I believe, a question of a movement, in this country or any other, making thousands or tens of thousands of converts. It is rather the case that in each of our countries there is a large, amorphous, essentially apolitical, section of the population that doesn't know much about public affairs but does know it doesn't like the Bomb. The ardent, hard-core anti-nuclear campaigners have done an impressive job in sensitizing this amorphous mass.

It is important, I think, to get this right. The "freeze" or "ban the bomb" brigades are not susceptible to reasoned refutation because their approach to the problem is purely emotional. For them, joining the movement is an expiatory and cleansing act. They are "doing something" for world peace. Explaining to them that to the extent that they contribute to the weakening of the Western alliance or to creating a nuclear imbalance which could lead to the holocaust they profess to be striving to avoid, necessarily falls on deaf ears.

There is therefore no point at all in trying to deconvert those who have stood up to be counted on the side of "peace." The people to worry about are those whose basic instincts are sound, who are on the whole unemotional about the issues, but who are vaguely worried at what they perceive to be the enormous growth of the peace movement. These include many people who, though sensible themselves, worry in case they are guilty of a failure to appreciate the value of the unilateralist stance.

What these people need is ammunition, and plenty of it. They need statistics of the Soviet arms buildup, especially under cover of detente. They need precise details of the deployment and capacity of the SS-20. They need details of Soviet support for (and wherever possible financial backing for) the international "peace" movement. If ever there was a case for preaching to the converted, this is it.

Anti-U.S. Campaigns

One of the characteristics of the unilateralists is that they think of nuclear war in apocalyptic terms: universal destruction, the end of "civilization as we know it," great clouds of poisonous radiation hovering over stricken cities, deformed babies. The amorphous mass has not taken in the fact that the day of the virtually bloodless, surgical nuclear strike has dawned.

If I come back to this point it is not only because it is of transcending importance, but also because it ought to be presented in a current context. There are, in fact, several simultaneous peace campaigns. All are centrally orchestrated by the Soviet-controlled World Peace Campaign, and they complement each other, but they are not identical. Each country has its own variety, tailor-made to fit local circumstances.

In the United States, for instance, it takes the natural form of the "freeze" campaign. The argument is that each superpower has what it takes to destroy the other many times over, so why build any more of the things? The U.S. should set the example by scrapping the MX and any other nasty plans for new weapons.

In Britain, the main targets are the government's decision to replace the obsolescent Polaris system with the enormously expensive Trident; and the deployment of Pershing II and the cruise missiles. Increasingly, of course, this is an anti-American campaign. After all, that's where the stuff comes from.

In West Germany, Holland, and Belgium, the issue is much simpler because none of these Western allies has a deterrent of its own. So the peace campaign concentrates overwhelmingly upon preventing the planned deployment of the new intermediate-range nuclear weapons (Pershing II and cruise).

Deliberately, whether because of intellectual incapacity or dishonesty or because of the apocalyptic nature of the amorphous mass, the qualitative and quantitative differences between intermediate-range missiles, such as the SS-20, and the intercontinental giants, are blurred. When I wrote in the London *Times* some weeks ago about the danger of a virtually bloodless strike by SS-20s, designed to destroy all of NATO's military installations, prior to the occupation of Western Europe by the armies of the Warsaw Pact (to be more realistic, by the Soviet armed forces), a reader accused me of talking "silly nonsense" and conjured up a typically apocalyptic vision of a West European desert under a massive radioactive cloud.

The Best Deterrent

Exercising my right of reply, I pointed out that the SS-20 has two main characteristics: it is highly accurate and highly adaptable. If the Russians wanted to devastate Western Europe, they would fit the SS-20s with warheads of 150 kiloton yields or higher. But what is the use to them of a devastated Western Europe? If they want, instead, to knock out Western Europe at one go, and take over the real estate intact, with the people alive, all they need do is fit their three-headed, independently targetable monsters with warheads of one or two kilotons. That way, they could knock off all of NATO's installations, with zero radiation, and blast limited to a radius of 250 meters. After that, the occupation forces could move in at their leisure.

Will they do it? The temptation must be there, while they have the monopoly of action. But I do not believe they will, if only for one reason. More than 300,000 U.S. troops are stationed in Western Europe. They are both hostages and the best deterrent Europe has. Even in a surgical attack, there would be heavy U.S. military casualties, and the reaction of the Reagan government is, from the Soviet standpoint, unpredictable. Experience has shown that the Soviets are bold only when they are betting on a certainty.

Now, if the "peace" campaigns succeed, that might be another story. □

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FROM

Washington

JOHN McLAUGHLIN

Straight

State Of The Union

A WHITE FLAG flies over the White House, hoisted there by Ronald Reagan's State of the Union address. That's what the "populist revolutionaries" (as they call themselves) within the conservative movement think, those issues-oriented conservatives made up of a mix of right-to-lifers, anti-tax types, some libertarians, and traditional conservatives who say, "Sure, Reagan has an engaging manner and style, but we don't like what he's doing to us any more than we liked it when Jerry Ford and Jimmy Carter did it to us." This newer breed has split off from the Republican establishmentarians who, despite the State of the Union address, continue to say, "Look, we've known Ronnie Reagan for years. He's our friend. He's doing the best he can."

The conservative populists will remind you that Jerry Ford put it this way: "I offer you a banner of consensus, compromise, conciliation, and cooperation." Mr. Reagan's theme is bipartisanship, written big, complete with copious FDR and Bernard Baruch frills, and a standing ovation for Thomas P. O'Neill for a "job-well-done" role in spawning the Social Security compromise and tax hike to which Mr. Reagan disgracefully acquiesced. This was followed by an acceptance of Jimmy Carter's premises on arms control, a dollop of rhetorical pap to conservatives (the school prayer amendment) after which, they say, the President will doubtless sit on his hands, and an ignoble concession that the government must play an activist role in the economy of a nation built by the discipline of the free market.

"Basically, Reagan's message was this," one ranking neo-populist told me. "Don't hit me any more. I'm on the ropes. Let me clinch. I'll give you more taxes, less defense. Just leave me alone. Let me be chief of state, and you guys can run the government." The populists do not see his plan at mid-term as a plan to win; his plan is to lose as slowly as possible.

No matter that you try exegesis on these folks. Mr. Reagan's statement, "We who are in government must take the lead in restoring the economy," can be understood to mean, say, that the President may some day propose a balanced budget, and that he will veto any appropriations and continuing resolutions that exceed such a budget.

No matter that you point out that the President's assurance that "we are vigorously pursuing arms-reductions negotiations with the Soviet Union" is quite different from Mr. Carter's in that Mr. Reagan also included explicit reference to Soviet use of chemical and biological weapons, plus the insistence that any arms agreement must be verifiable, which, in the practical order, means no arms agreement at all, because the Russians will never accede to on-site verification.

No matter that the President explicitly assigned blame for the monstrous deficit to domestic spending, not to tax cuts or defense outlays—which means, of course, faulting the Democrats for the deficits. The populists will tell you that the rate of growth of government spending under Ronald Reagan is double that which occurred under Jimmy Carter.

As for the $55-billion defense cut over five years, these conservatives point with disgust to the congressional budget office data that in constant dollars Reagan's defense budget for fiscal 1981 through 1983 is more than $7 billion below the projected defense budget of Jimmy Carter. How do you get a domestic spending freeze through Congress without a $55-billion defense-cut olive branch? Tough it through, brother, that's how.

The State of the Union is one thing, the state of the Democrats is another. Compared to the Democrats, the Union is thriving—if one is to judge by the Democrats' thirty-minute rebuttal of the President after the State of the Union address. Mr. Reagan's speech was really a structured prolepsis of the Democratic assault. The Democrats were preempted at every turn. But the Democrats made it so easy for the President. The first priority, they say, is to commit about $150 billion of taxpayers' earnings to "research and development of technologies." Electrifying, wouldn't you say? The assumption is that the government knows best where to research and where to develop.

Number two on the Democratic panacea list was the call for a skilled work force. Here Mr. Reagan beat them to the base, with his active support last year of a multimillion-dollar jobs-training bill, and promises in his speech of more attention to training in the future. The third element in the Democrats' formula is, get this, the repair of the nation's roads and bridges (infrastructure is the modish word), muttered with a straight face, as though Congress and the nation had not talked themselves silly last year over the 5¢ a gallon gas-tax increase, urged and driven through Congress by Ronald Reagan, to yield $35 billion for—you guessed it—the repair of roads and bridges.

The fourth component in the Democratic symphony is this dilly: energy self-sufficiency. Today, we are importing less oil than we have in a decade, prices for oil (and uranium) have plummeted, the world market is awash in a glut of oil.

Number five, the Democrats tell us that we must have a strong national defense coupled with a commitment to arms control, which is just about what Ronald Reagan advocates. The only fresh bit in the Democratic printout was their call for a tough trade policy.

What lies behind this poverty of Democratic thought, stale nostrums, and petty duplicities is this disquieting truth: the Democrats are in wild disunion. They are so at war among themselves that the only things they can agree upon are back-number clichés like energy independence and the need for R&D.

Strategically, the State of the Union was less of a speech and more of a holding action. In that function, it was a skillful win. A fists-up approach would have been out of the question. Until the recovery gains speed, everything is at a standstill. The President's race against time is in the final stretch. And the State of the Union stretched the stretch. □

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POLITICAL ECONOMY

Working within the System

TOM BETHELL

ONE OF THE better public affairs TV programs, *The McLaughlin Group*, has been showing in Washington for eight months now. It features *NR*'s Washington editor, John McLaughlin, playing mock-stern headmaster to a small but unruly class of journalists, who argue about The Issues for half an hour every Saturday. A favorite issue, guaranteed to provoke a ten-minute quarrel, is the precarious state of the banks, the international debt balloon, the desirability of expanding IMF loans, and so on.

With monotonous regularity the two conservatives—Patrick Buchanan and Robert Novak—are anti-bank and seem eager for the debt balloon to burst. But the two liberals—Morton Kondracke and Jack Germond—are the unabashed champions of bankers—those Wall Street figures who in earlier decades were lampooned by progressive cartoonists.

"It's the same irony that has Germond and myself defending the Reagan Administration against the conservatives," Kondracke explained when I phoned him. Kondracke (who is executive editor of *The New Republic*) was of course referring to the more recent James Baker-coaxed, tax-increasing Administration rather than to the tax-cutting Administration of distant memory.

In outline, the bank-debt problem is fairly simple. In the early 1970s OPEC found it could raise the price of oil by closing off a spigot or two, and a hapless U.S. Government cooperated by subsidizing imported oil. (This absurdity was swept away, along with oil price controls, by the Reagan Administration.) OPEC countries then parked their bales of dollars in Western banks, including the major New York institutions. These in turn eagerly competed to lend the money to the highest bidders, who turned out, more often than not, to be Third World, "less developed" countries. (See "Banks at the Brink," page 172.) No problem. It was an article of faith among bankers that "countries can't go bankrupt." (To which *Time* recently retorted: "Banks can hardly send gunboats to seize Poland's steel plants or Mexico's oilfields.")

Worldwide, hundreds of billions of dollars were "recycled" this way. The U.S. establishment was all in favor because the loans would enable the less developed countries to become better developed. "Infrastructure" would emerge and economies would grow, along with imports, exports, and world trade as a whole. But then about 18 months ago bankers were seen to be wearing furrowed brows. The banks, we were suddenly told, had lent out so much money that they were now at the mercy of their debtors. And now there's a new shock: the oil price might drop, something the liberals have become fiercely worried about.

In turn, they have urged that banks step up their lending to prevent defaults. And now, in Washington, there's a tremendous drumming of the ideological tom-toms (pragmatism, it's called) on behalf of more U.S. money to the International Monetary Fund. New money will then be disbursed ("loaned," as they say) to the debt-ridden countries, who will repay the banks, who will then lend more to the wastrel nations. This will serve to keep everything going a bit longer.

Banks as Pawns

You can see why the conservatives don't like what's going on. For one thing, some bankers seem to have become little more than willing pawns on the left-wing chess board. Returning from Marxist Angola, for example, David Rockefeller said that an international bank ought not "set itself up as a judge of what kind of government a country wishes to have." (Wishes?) "Who knows which political system works?" said Citibank's Thomas Theobold. "The only test we care about is: can they pay their bills?"

I phoned Pat Buchanan to ask him why he was against the system and he said: "The Eastern bloc, including Yugoslavia, owes $100 billion, and they're paying back little or nothing on it. They have received unsecured loans many times larger than the Marshall Plan. If you write those loans off that's foreign aid. The idea that more good American dollars from the taxpayers are going to make a going thing of Communism is utterly ridiculous."

These loans are never going to be repaid. It is safe to say that, even if the banks are understandably reluctant to make the necessary accounting changes on their books. So foreign aid really is the unacknowledged name of this game. Foreign aid has long been an important element of the liberal ideology, but it has always had one or two maddening features, from their point of view. You had to get it through Congress, and since the voters live in America, support for aid has always been thin, and today is dwindling. In real terms, U.S. foreign aid—$7.7 billion in 1982—is half what it was in 1955. Also, not to put too fine a point on it, congressmen have been downright stubborn about giving aid to the countries that really needed it—the socialist countries.

Recycling Dollars

The new system—the recycling of OPEC money to Third World and Eastern bloc countries by the banks with the pretense that the money will be repaid one day in the future—circumvents the old foreign-aid roadblocks. No wonder the liberals are worried about a declining oil price.

All this shows the extent to which the liberals have finally managed to get the system working the way they want it to work. Not surprisingly they want to keep it in place, even if that does mean sustaining a few jibes about being the bankers' best friend. "I believe in the liberal ideology," Morton Kondracke concluded, "but I also believe in preserving the system—improving the system. I think the establishment has made lots of mistakes, but it's the only establishment we've got. And I would not destroy it. I don't think that someone is better than someone else because he's a machinist as opposed to the president of Lehman Brothers."

The system works. Conservatives should never forget that that was the "lesson of Watergate." Maybe that's why some conservatives now feel it is time to overthrow the system. □

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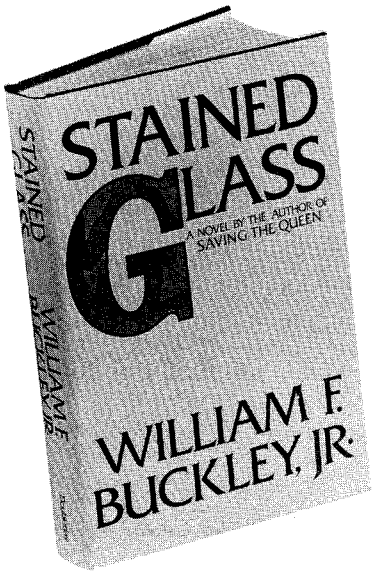

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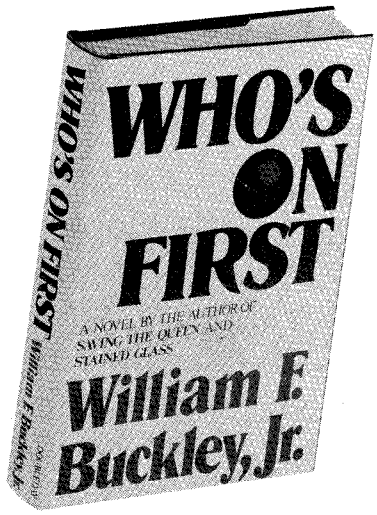

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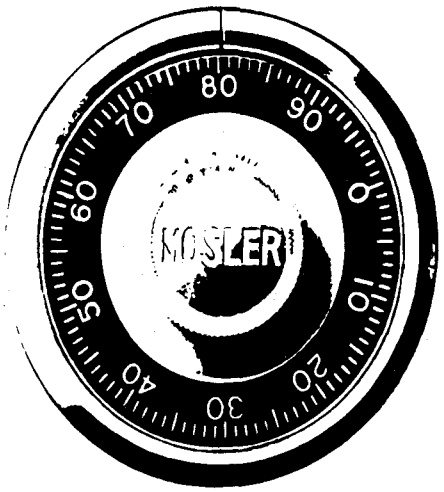
RICHARD COULSON

BANKS AT THE BRINK



FACED WITH THE vaporization of a large part of their foreign-loan portfolios, the big money-center commercial banks in the U.S. have launched a campaign to defend themselves. Quietly nervous before the bursting of the Mexican bubble, they are noisily nervous after it. Their constituents—shareholders, depositors, borrowers—are showing less willingness to accept bankerly platitudes and are demanding hard answers. The regulatory agencies and the accounting profession are plainly wringing their hands in indecision, pushed one way by the purists of full disclosure and quick write-offs, prodded in another by the don't-rock-the-boat-or-we'll-all-sink school. Congress and the Administration have members in both camps; a unified clarion call is far from being heard.

The visible tremors of the bankers stem from several causes, but the one attracting the most attention is their billions of dollars of loans to LDCs—"less developed countries," a more candid term than the once popular "developing countries." The size of these portfolios, once an arcane matter underplayed by the banks and seldom sought even by bank-stock analysts, is now being abruptly revealed. Among the abundance of statistics, a few have dramatic impact: Bank of America, the nation's largest, has $2.25 billion of loans outstanding to Mexico, some to the central government, some to government agencies, and some to industrial companies that, in a country like Mexico, stand or fall with the state itself. This figure represents only about 8 per cent of the B of A's total foreign-loan portfolio, but more than *half* of the bank's equity capital, which gives an idea of how highly a state-of-the-art bank is leveraged these days. Continental Illinois, already troubled by domestic-loan disasters that have brought shareholder legal actions, has about $750 million outstanding to Mexico and $400 million to Argentina, against equity of about $1.8 billion. A recent report by the House Banking Committee discloses that the nine largest U. S. banks (Bank of America, Citibank, Chase, Manufacturers Hanover, Morgan Guaranty, Continental Illinois, Chemical, Bankers Trust, and First Chicago) have outstanding loans to LDCs and Communist nations equal to about *3.5 times* their combined equity capital of $23 billion.

These numbingly large statistics would generate little interest but for the small fact that they represent, by and large, loans that are not being repaid. Certainly not the principal, and often not even the interest. Of course, the banks do not put it this way: they gravely announce that the loans are being "re-scheduled." They certainly are, but the "re-schedules" often stretch far into the misty future. And if any interest or principal is being currently paid, the funds are usually provided by additional credits from the same lending banks, or from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) or the Bank for International Settlements (BIS), if they can be induced to play ball—or even from Uncle Sam himself.

LEST THE LAYMAN with his average degree of average common sense should find it hard to distinguish between nonpayment and re-scheduling, the banks and their kindred supporters in government circles appear to have agreed on three propositions that are put forward to soothe any troubled minds:

1. Nations do not go bankrupt or disappear.
2. By lending to LDCs in the past, and lending more to them now when they can't repay old loans, banks are saving the world from a collapse of foreign trade and a cataclysmic depression.
3. Anyway, there is always a lender of last resort somewhere behind the commercial banks; when pressed, this proposition often degrades to "there should be" a lender of last resort.

The first proposition, being the simplest to state, is also the most wrong-headed, but a chorus of prominent bankers have blessed it:

► "Countries don't go bust."—Walter Wriston, chairman of Citibank. Mr. Wriston has another ingenious point: since the U.S. Government never pays off its debt, nor even registers a net reduction, why should foreign governments be required to act differently? He conveniently overlooks the fact that U.S. borrowing, being in U.S. dollars and from its

Mr. Coulson was born in Nassau, Bahamas and educated at Yale. His career in international banking dates back to 1967, with the firm of Kuhn, Loeb & Co. He now has his own investment and financial consultancy firm in Nassau. He has, he admits, participated actively in some of the banking games he criticizes in this article.

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own citizens, creates no balance-of-payments difficulties. More troubling, although the U.S. can always print more dollars to service any amount of this debt, he ignores the intractable inflationary pressures on the domestic economy that result from such a policy.

► "There is a *negligible* risk of permanent default in sovereign lending because sovereign borrowers cannot cease to exist." —William Ogden, vice chairman of Chase.

► "The likelihood that the developing world would not service its obligations is low. There's no Chapter 11 for countries." —George Clark, executive vice president of Citibank.

This is somewhat less euphoric than a previous statement by Mr. Clark: sovereign loan problems over the last ten years have been less serious than expected, "which encourages us to grow our sovereign exposure."

"Countries are different from individuals. We can go bankrupt and disappear. Countries can't do that." —Leland Prussia, chairman of Bank of America.

These apparently plausible statements are of course dangerous and misleading nonsense. No critic of banks' lending policies has ever suffered the delusion that foreign governments—or the U.S. Government for that matter—can seek the protection of "bankruptcy" or "Chapter 11," which are specific legal procedures established by U.S. statutes and applicable only to domestic entities. Equally irrelevant is the simplistic declaration that nations cannot "dissappear." Naturally a country's geographic area cannot disappear. But a bank is not lending to a plot of land or a seam of coal; it is lending to an artificial creation of laws and men known as a "government," which, as history shows, can repudiate the acts of previous governments or, through mismanagement or deliberate intentions, can become insolvent or uncooperative as radically and abruptly as a corporation or an individual. The territory, harbors, climate, minerals, and soils of a nation are meaningless as yardsticks of credit unless its government permits their potential to be realized.

Countries can indeed repudiate their debts, and have often done so, sometimes from honest inability to repay, sometimes for political reasons. A quick dip into the records of the Foreign Bondholders' Protective Council, in New York City, should disabuse the most innocent credit officer of the notion that countries always repay. For the years between the two World Wars the council compiled the histories of many capital-starved nations that issued bonds in the U.S. or international markets and then found themselves unable to repay, faced with contraction of trade and falling prices for their raw-material exports during the depression years. Mexico was one of the sickest cases. With over $200 million of bonds held by foreigners at the beginning of her revolutionary period in 1910, Mexico defaulted on interest and principal shortly thereafter as a result of her own internal chaos. Debt service was resumed in the 1920s, but ceased again in the 1930s as the worldwide depression strangled her economy. It was not until the 1940s, when World War II brought a degree of prosperity, that a final series of agreements were reached with the long-suffering bondholders. After waiting twenty or more years, they received, in effect, about 20 cents on each original dollar of bonds plus a pittance in respect of interest in ar-

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rears. The Mexican government never formally declared itself "bankrupt," and Mexico certainly did not "disappear." Money owed simply was not paid. The holders of the defaulted bonds made no face-saving claims that they were "rolling over" or "re-scheduling" their claims, nor did they propose to lend Mexico new funds to service the old bonds. And there was no IMF to provide a bailout.

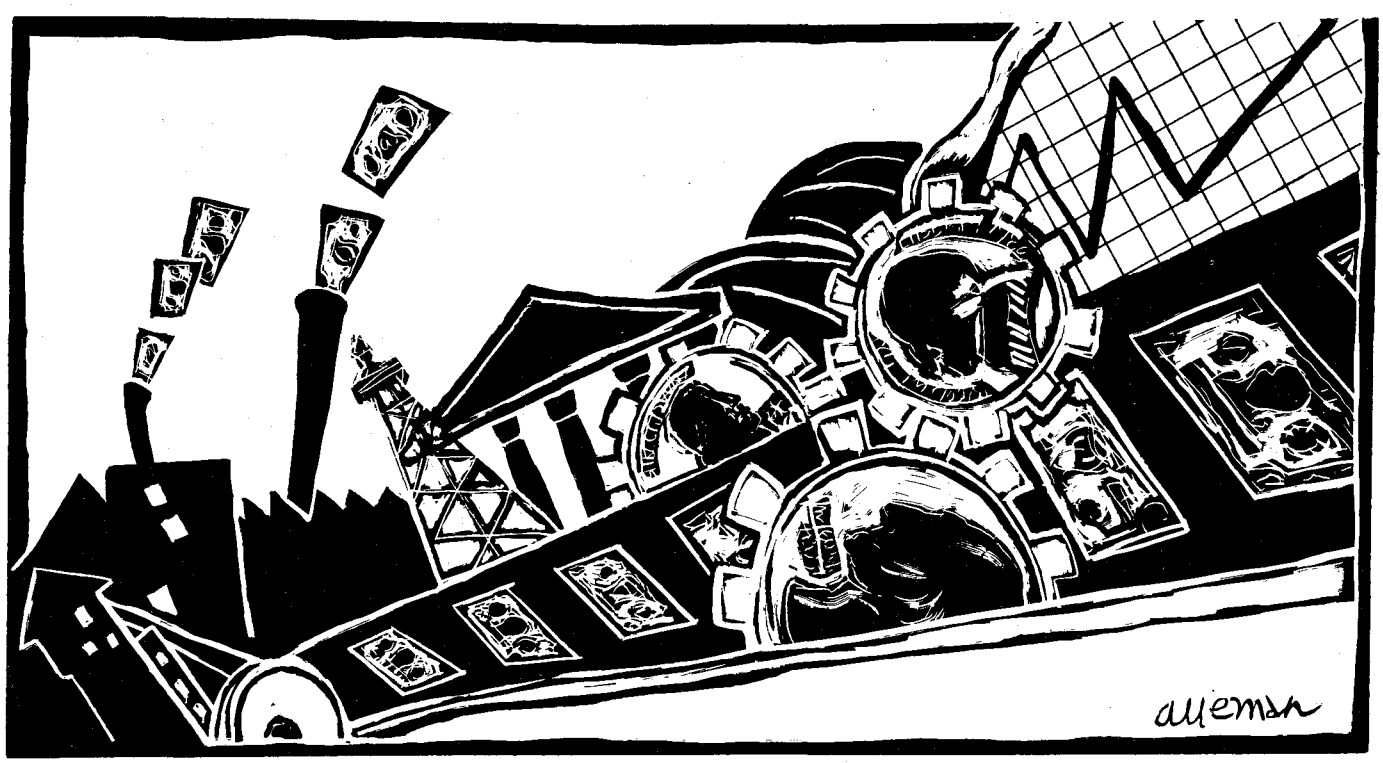
PERHAPS THOSE WERE simpler, ruder days. In the post-OPEC years since 1973, the era marked by the explosion of foreign lending by banks, there have been few if any outright acknowledgments by lenders that countries cannot, or will not, pay. But can we doubt that the reality is the same? Consider the roll-call of nations that in the last couple of years has requested re-scheduling of their debts: Brazil (about $85 billion outstanding), Mexico (about $80 billion), Argentina (about $40 billion), Poland, Hungary, Costa Rica, Bolivia, Nicaragua, Yugoslavia, Senegal, Zambia,. Zaire—while more countries such as Chile, Panama, and Nigeria are regarded as possible re-schedulers.

Any request for re-scheduling has one simple meaning that cannot be disguised: unless the borrower is helped by a deferral of money due and/or an infusion of new money, it *will default* on the terms of one or more of its loans, documents prepared by the lending banks with great precision as to exact dates for payment of principal and interest. But "default" is another technical concept: like marriage, two must perform. The borrower can warn that he will not repay, can in fact not repay, but unless the lenders formally "declare" this to be a default, by a specific procedure set out in the loan agreement, no default exists, in the eyes of the bank or in the eyes of the law. It is law that any legal agreement can be amended with the consent of both parties, or that a party holding a claim or right against another party can waive enforcement of that claim. In this narrow legal sense, banks may feel quite justified in waiving a nonpayment or signing a modification agreement deferring all payment dates. After all, as they say, it's their money.

But is it? The legalistic view obscures the financial realities. The publicly announced terms of the re-scheduling plans for several indigent countries reveal what is really happening. For Mexico, about $19 billion of government debt due in 1983 and 1984 is being deferred for final payment *in 1991*. In addition, present creditor banks are asked to make a new term loan of five years for $1.5 billion; the International Monetary Fund has agreed to advance $3.8 billion, and the Bank for International Settlements $1.5 billion—both of these bodies ordinarily lending only for the purpose of overcoming short-term balance of payments or liquidity problems. Simple addition of these sums shows that Mexico has a bad case of the shorts to the extent of $25 billion. And those figures relate just to *public* debt: there are also many billions of dollars of loans to private companies for which the government takes, as yet, no responsibility and on which not even interest is being paid.

Argentina presents a similar picture: in addition to new short-term bridging loans, banks are asked to defer $5.5 billion of principal, due in 1983, *to 1990*. Brazil appears to have obtained a commitment of $4.5 billion from the IMF, and is now lining up new loans and requesting waivers from her commercial bank lenders.

Now suppose your friend Joe lends $1,000 to his brother-in-law for an agreed term of three years, and at the end of two and a half years is told, "Joe, things are going badly for me. The widgets I carve just aren't selling these days. The cost of good carving wood has quadrupled when I didn't expect it; and I bought a set of tools that I now don't need. Why don't we just defer what I owe you this year for a little while—say, seven years? And in the meantime, maybe you could lend me another $500 to get me through next year." Joe might have no choice but to accept this proposition, but, equipped with no financial training



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other than common sense, he would hardly continue to regard his original loan as "worth" $1,000. And, accounting not being totally divorced from common sense, if Joe's financial condition were audited by certified public accountants, neither would they agree to this loan being carried on his books as a $1,000 asset. A substantial loan-loss reserve would be set up.

Yet banks and—to date—their auditors refuse to show the same degree of healthy skepticism to government borrowers that are in much the same straits as Joe's brother-in-law. In the banks' analysis, the undisputed facts that a country's traditional exports are selling at distress prices; that her import bills are rising; that internal inflation is rampant, foreign exchange reserves vanishing, budgetary deficits increasing, devaluation accelerating, employment stagnant—all are taken as "temporary" factors that will soon be put right by a dose of IMF-prescribed austerity and belt-tightening (but is "temporary" the right word when re-scheduling runs for seven years?). The banks' optimism seems extraordinary. In 1981, against a total foreign loan portfolio of $27.5 billion, Bank of America made a provision of just $58 million for possible loan losses, or less than 3 per cent of the bank's exposure to Mexico alone. The total loan-loss reserves for foreign loans were increased only 10 per cent in 1981, to a figure of $132 million. Of course, in 1981 the chickens of foreign lending had not yet come home to roost; but will the B of A change its policies markedly in 1983? Will it, or any other U.S. bank, decide or be compelled to follow the example of Sweden, where it has been reported that the Banking Commission is requiring Swedish banks to write off 20 per cent of all their loans to borrowers in 16 nations in Eastern Europe, Africa, and Latin America? Will any U.S. bank increase its loan-loss reserves 2.6 times, as Lloyds Bank International recently did under gentle prodding from the Bank of England, thus nearly halving its 1982 earnings?

In U.S. regulatory circles—the Federal Reserve and the Comptroller of the Currency—there has been talk, but certainly no consensus, about demanding a 10 per cent reserve against perceived problem loans. Even this would be anathema to U.S. banks. As one banking executive has been quoted: "In our bank that would be equivalent to a year's earnings. Who would buy our CDs then?"

Precisely. This gentleman has let the cat out of the bag: concern with loan quality is secondary to the objective of continued balance-sheet growth. Other bankers, recognizing the poor image created by such an honest admission, attempt to take a more statesmanlike view. William Ogden of the Chase, in a measured think-piece for the *Wall Street Journal*, tells us that without the rapid growth in foreign lending in recent years, "the growth pace of the world economy would have fallen significantly." The real problem, he would have us believe, is not excessive borrowing in the past and the LDCs' present inability to repay, but rather "the increasing unwillingness of the international financial community to lend . . . . Without significant new lending to developing countries, the economic adjustment required of them will be catastrophically abrupt."

A borrower has trouble paying?—by all means lend him more. As Mr. Ogden has clearly been given the task of defending his bank's record, he must be allowed a certain latitude for turning matters inside-out. Or perhaps he sincerely believes in his assertion that the foreign lending boom since 1973 "has been accompanied by a similarly rapid build-up of productive capacity." Other bankers also take comfort from this fond belief in the utility of their own loans: James Vanasek, senior vice president of BancOhio, has said that "the majority of loans has been made with very specific purposes in mind."

Perhaps in the mind of the lender, but not necessarily in the mind of the borrower. The hopeful faith that LDC loans are earmarked for commercially feasible "projects" or socially necessary "infrastructure" was shot down in an unguarded moment by Mexico's director-general of Public Credit, when he was quoted in 1981:

> As a country, we are contracting debt for the general, overall purposes of the Mexican economy. Identifiable borrowers come to the market, but that does not mean they have the money held captive for their own use. At a given moment, all that money will be available for the whole economic system when and if [sic] it is needed.

In other words, a billion-dollar loan syndicated among one hundred banks by a placement memorandum assuring that the funds were dedicated to the expansion program of Petroleos Mexicanos or the Electricity Commission could just as easily have been used to prop up the foreign-exchange reserves of the Central Bank. This type of disguised balance-of-payments credit has long been well-known to bankers, but it's not fashionable for them to acknowledge this just now.

The banks' assertion that the bulk of their loans contributed directly to "economic growth" and "productivity" lies at the heart of their expressed belief that the loans will be repaid, that present cash shortages are a momentary aberration rather than a functional condition. Unfortunately, this assertion is a severe distortion of the record. Again taking Mexico as an example, it is now common knowledge that many banks lending to the Alfa group—once the country's shining example of an industrial conglomerate—

In U.S. regulatory circles there has been talk, but certainly no consensus, about demanding a 10 per cent reserve against perceived problem loans

were supporting expansion and new ventures that were commercially questionable in even the palmiest days and, further, that few banks understood the debt structure of this complex group—and this in a friendly, neighboring, free-enterprise society where platoons of bankers and lawyers from the U.S. have roamed and investigated for years. As to the public sector, President Miguel de la Madrid, a superb technician now risen to the top after a career in public finance, has gone on record that the growth rate of Mexico's debt in recent years was excessive. As early as the spring of 1981, an official publication of the state foreign-

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trade bank stated that the payment of debt service on foreign loans had come "to constitute the dominant factor responsible for the balance-of-payments deficit"—or in blunter terms, the loans were now hurting more than helping.

Thus the banks' assertion of the utility of their loans is questioned from the mouths of the borrowers themselves. The hard statistics raise the same questions. From 1973 to 1982, Mexico's external debt increased about twenty-fold. Such a rate far exceeded the need simply to keep current with inflation, since the dollar's purchasing power only declined three or four times during the period, and actually *rose* in terms of the Mexican peso. Nor were these vast funds needed to meet OPEC price hikes, as Mexico became a petroleum exporter. The needs of a country like Mexico to provide more schools, highways, hospitals, generators, dams, railways, crop-loans, and productive jobs for its growing population are virtually limitless, but only the most credulous observer would believe that the quantity and quality of goods and services provided to the Mexican public have increased by a factor of twenty, or even by a factor of five. The very cutbacks in government bureaucracy announced by President de la Madrid are evidence of the fat that has accumulated on the public bone, financed in no small part from abroad.

Loans that provide an inflated amount of dollars to economies whose currencies then inevitably devalue against the dollar cannot easily be repaid

As in Mexico, so in other countries: the flow of funds from abroad poured in at a rate incapable of absorption in normal productive projects and incapable of being repaid at any normal level of economic growth. The classic result: inflation. It is pointless now to split hairs in apportioning blame between status-hungry government credit officers and growth-obsessed bank lending officers. A book could be written on whether banks in the world's money centers—or their governments—acted responsibly in handling the surge of deposits arising from the peculiarities of the Eurocurrency markets and the OPEC price increases. Suffice to say that in the 1970s an inflationary supply of money became available to international banks and, rather than being smoothed out or "funded," was passed abruptly on to the LDCs, among others. Loans that provide an inflated amount of dollars to economies whose currencies then inevitably devalue against the dollar cannot easily be repaid in full.

What will happen to the U.S. banks in 1983? Many observers of the banking scene not only take issue with the banks' Panglossian attitude toward their foreign loans but also urge some national or supra-national system of controls to bring sanity. Harold Lever, the British businessman, Labor politician, and articulate economic pundit, has called for multi-lateral action in some unspecified form "to manage the vast and dangerously haphazard lending that has already taken place through the Eurodollar market." The irrepressibly ingenious Felix Rohatyn, of New York's Lazard Frères, has conceived a government Reconstruction Finance Corporation that would in effect make a preferential equity investment in banks, requiring large loan write-offs but permitting their amortization over a long period.

Whether or not such proposals make financial sense, they all suffer the faults of complexity and novelty and will, I believe, be overtaken by events. Banks will be brought to heel by the natural, if somewhat chaotic, forces of the marketplace, plus the lash of politics.

Never lovers of big banks, congressmen have been handed the perfect issue with which to belabor the biggest of them and simultaneously impress constituents in hometown America. What could give a representative from New York's Harlem or South Bronx a more mouth-watering prospect than a chance to publicize the profits a bank has reaped from loans to "totalitarian" (or "pseudo-Communist," depending on the congressman's ideological bent) regimes in Latin America while the same bank has red-lined large areas in his district, excluding them from home-mortgage finance or small-business loans? Congress has innumerable ways to make life difficult for the banks, through specific legislation, resolutions, and plain publicity. At the moment, the House is being asked by the Administration to approve a substantial increase in the U.S. subscription to the International Monetary Fund, without which the IMF will be strained to answer the calls of many debt-strapped nations. Without IMF financial help these countries will be unable to meet immediate liquidity needs, and without the economic discipline imposed by the IMF as a condition of its help, commercial banks cannot, even by their own principles, lend further or interminably excuse nonpayment. Representative Ferdinand St. Germain of Rhode Island, chairman of the House Banking Committee, has made clear that any increase in the U.S. subscription to the IMF must not relieve banks of all the financial consequences of their imprudent foreign loans and must be linked to verifiable reforms of future lending policies. Given the political realities, one can predict that Mr. St. Germain's position will rally solid congressional support against the Administration's entreaties, orchestrated by the Fed, the Treasury, and the State Department, for large and unconditional funding for the IMF. The funds will not be obtained quickly, or without many strings that surely will be unpopular with the money-center banks.

THE ACCOUNTING PROFESSION may also rise in revolt. A quiet but intense struggle has already begun between banks and the independent accounting firms auditing their books—one accounting journal has predicted 1983 as the year of "The Bank Auditors' Nightmare." Traditionally, auditors have allowed banks to carry loans at original cost as long as interest is being paid. But now that repayment dates are being so long deferred as to become problematical, many accountants are saying that loans should be booked at a lower "net realizable value" and are struggling with standards to determine that value. If they press for substantial loan-loss provisions, they are painfully aware that bank managements will bring to bear all the arguments about the

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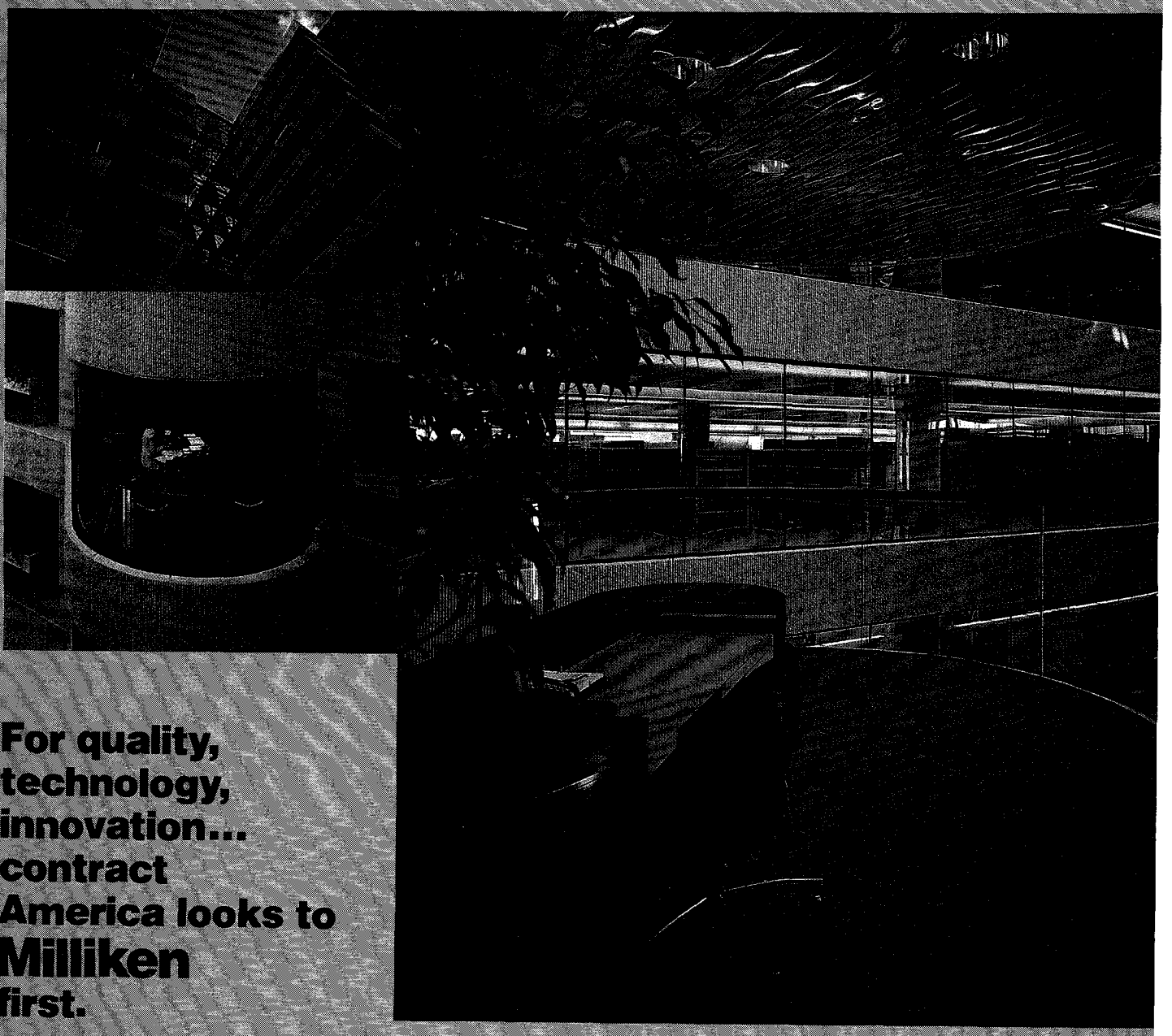

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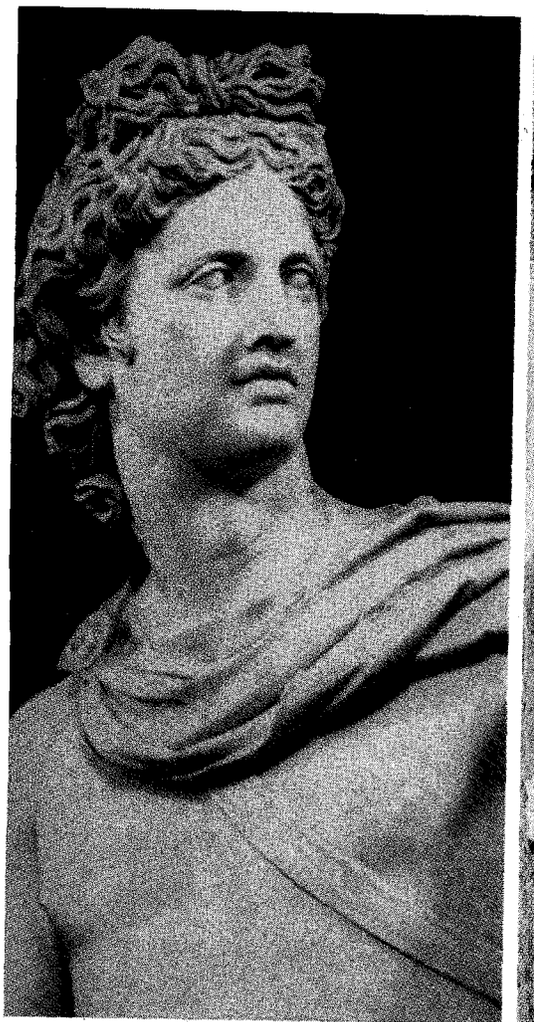

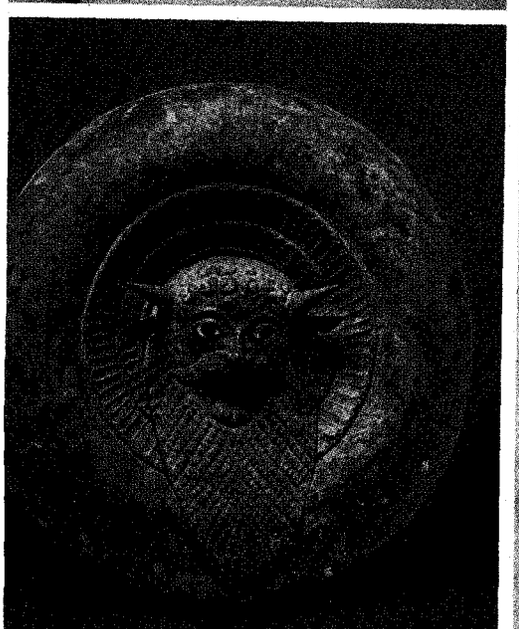

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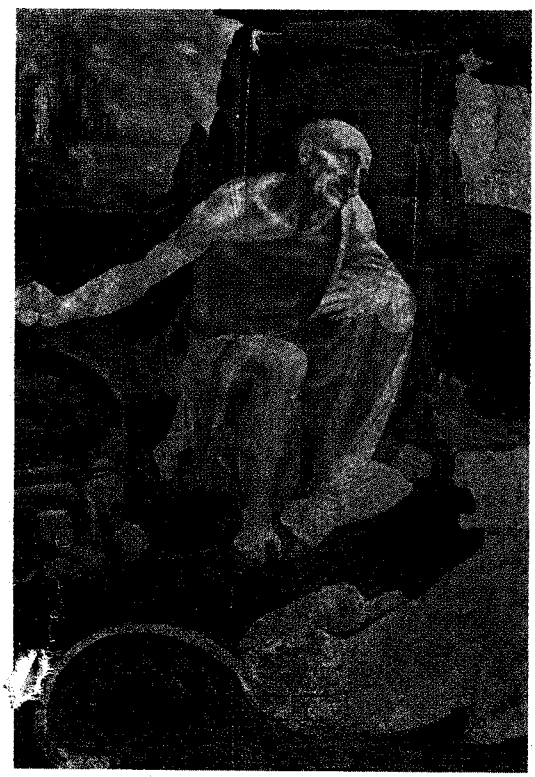

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(top left) APOLLO BELVEDERE. Roman copy, 130-140 A.D.
(bottom left) BORCHIA WITH HEAD OF ACHELOUS TARQUINIA. Bronze. 5th century B.C.
(center) MUSICAL ANGEL. Melozzo da Forli, ca. 1480. (top right) ST. JEROME. Leonardo da Vinci, ca. 1480.
(bottom right) QUETZALCOATL. Aztec feathered serpent, early 16th century.

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dangers of destroying confidence in a bank. On the other hand, a rigorous application of their own accounting principles—which have never been tested on so large a scale—together with possible forceful views from the Securities and Exchange Commission, may push them toward taking a hard line. And, in an increasingly litigious American society, the accountants' fear of lawsuits from shareholders and creditors will tend to make them particularly non-receptive to dubious management claims. Whatever may be the final published results of the bank audits, word of differences of opinion is bound to reach the sharply tuned ears of Wall Street's bank-stock analysts and, through them, the investing public. To say the least, bank-stock prices will not be helped.

Another likely source of concern for the major U.S. banks is the very complexity of the proposed debt re-scheduling arrangements for countries like Brazil or Mexico, where hundreds of banks, both U.S. and foreign, are involved, with differing objectives, credit policies, governing laws, and levels of exposure. While the big U.S. banks (certainly the "big nine" named by the House Banking Committee) often initiate these arrangements and draft their terms, the consent of smaller banks, holding smaller positions in the lending syndicates, must be obtained to make the re-scheduling effective. Any number of U.S. regional banks, deciding to swallow in one bite their relatively minor exposure to an LDC rather than opting for a suspended period of uncertainty, could torpedo the arrangements by refusing to consent. They might even start legal actions against the syndicate leaders or agent banks compelling the declaration of a default, or laying claim to a proportionate share of deposits from the borrowers held by the leaders. If re-scheduling were halted by a welter of inter-bank litigation, even before its final resolution, bank management, auditors, and government regulators would have little choice but to recognize formally a default condition.

In general, bankers seem to feel that their industry is, or should be, exempt from the discipline of a free-market economy

These three factors—Congress, accounting principles, and inter-bank disputes—are likely to have precisely those effects that the banks tell us would be "unthinkable" or "catastrophic": sharp falls in the price of the banks' stock, reduction of shareholders' equity, contraction of new deposit growth even if not massive withdrawal of existing deposits, minimal chance to raise new funds through debt or equity issues, lay-offs of personnel and closing of offices, particularly abroad. But are these effects not in fact the very cures that a capitalist economy should prescribe for an industry that has overextended itself? The main cause of the banks' ills has been over-capacity: an over-supply of their basic raw material, money in the form of deposits. Over the past ten years we have seen vivid examples of how the free market handles other industries with over-capacity or misconceived product lines: steel, ship-building, petrochemicals, automobiles, airlines, aircraft construction, home building, forest products, and others. In these sectors the standard remedies have been applied—plants are closed down, mothballed, or sold off; divisions are disbanded; product lines terminated. One U.S. bank, the largest in the Pacific Northwest, has already suffered this type of purgative when in 1982 it reported sharp losses and dismissed more than four hundred staff members as a result of participating in oil-exploration loans generated by Oklahoma's now defunct Penn Square Bank.

In general, however, bankers seem to feel that *their* industry is, or should be, exempt from the discipline of a free-market economy. There is scarcely a suggestion that mistakes have been made or that radical re-thinking may be necessary. Banking is posited as such a unique industry that any substantial reduction in its size would destroy confidence, and that loss of confidence would result in a worldwide chain reaction of collapsing credit bringing trade and finance to a standstill. American bankers have been, to date, very successful in instilling this apocalyptic view in the minds of their auditors and their so-called regulators.

More detached observers than senior banking executives can be excused for thinking differently. The sharp reduction of profits and the shrinking of capital of a dozen or so major U.S. banks that have relied on the foreign sector for their growth of earnings and assets would not bring down the world banking system or even that of the United States. Bankruptcy itself could probably be avoided in all cases: a total write-off in one year of all problem loans is not the realistic prospect. The market's sting is likely to take the form of substantial write-offs over a period of years. The depositor with less than $100,000 at stake will still be protected by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation; among other deposits, none would be defaulted or frozen but many would not be renewed when due. Obviously, this shrinkage of resources would preclude many types of lending.

This process need not by any means require banks formally to abandon or forgive their legal claim against borrowers who have, in reality, defaulted. But it will recognize the greatly increased probability that many debts will never be repaid according to the tenor in which they were granted. Some will never be repaid; some will be repaid in part; and some at such extended terms that their financially calculated "present value" is sharply reduced.

Unquestionably the amount of financing available from *commercial banks* to LDCs would then also be sharply reduced. The present difficulties of LDC repayments suggest that many of the existing loans, and certainly the new "refinancing" loans now being considered, are more akin to "aid" than to commercial banking. If such aid is economically justified, its source must be government agencies or supra-national institutions whose responsibilities and risks in this direction are openly recognized.

The contraction of banking resources should actually be welcomed as one of the many steps taken to squeeze worldwide inflation. As long as the vast amount of loans made to LDCs, which unquestionably contributed to their own

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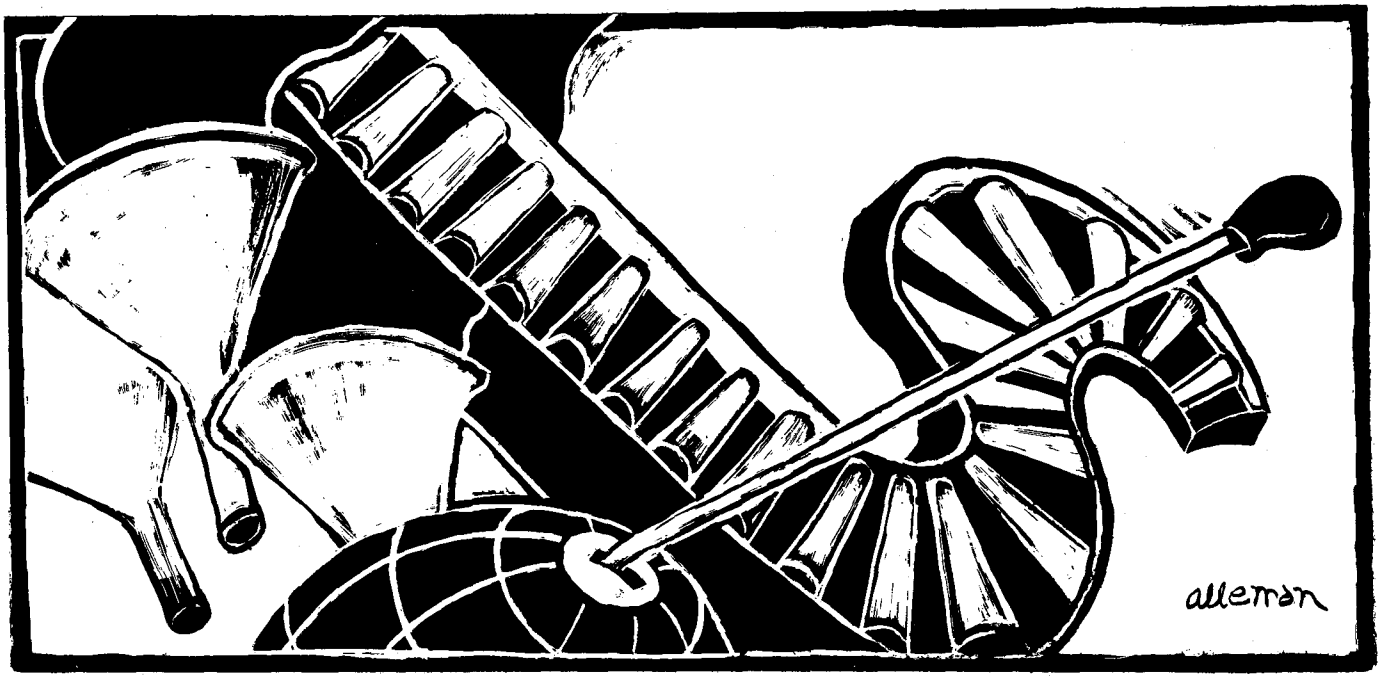

domestic inflation, are carried on the balance sheets of banks at original cost long after their contractual due date, the inflationary bubble will be prolonged. Many of the LDCs have new leadership that is commencing an effort to sweat the inflationary fat out of their own economies, an effort that will be painful in terms of lost jobs and lower standards of living in the short and medium term. Not only is it inequitable, it is financially unsound, that U.S. banks should not share in these austerity programs by curtailing their own growth in the short and medium term. True growth cannot commence among borrowers *or* lenders until the inflated statistics of excess financing in the past have been put through the wringer.

From the point of view of confidence, the U.S. banks would reap a greater crop of it were they openly to admit the consequences of their exaggerated foreign lending, announce some hefty write-offs, shrink their international departments, and generally adopt a degree of *mea culpa*, rather than continuing a total defense of their past activities as financially sound and historically necessary. One wonders if the senior management of major U.S. banks is aware of the considerable cynicism with which this defense is regarded by American businessmen who can and must be the banks' best customers, both as depositors and borrowers. This cynicism often borders on contempt, as businessmen shake their heads over bank policies that lead, for example, to commitments to the single country of Brazil so large that—as one Brazilian banker has untactfully declared—a default by Brazil cannot be permitted because it would lead to collapse of such giants as Citibank. How can American businessmen continue to respect bank managements that not only authorize such bank lending policies but continue to defend them as wise and laudable?

U.S. bankers have attempted to create the impression that we live in a world where banks have no choice but to follow these policies, that they are natural activities mandated to banks on tablets carved in stone. The chairman of Manufacturers Hanover, Harry Taylor, said in early 1982 (possibly with some later regret), "It is foolish to suggest that banks are going to stop making general-purpose loans, one of wholesale international banking's fundamental missions in life." History would scarcely support him. Until recently, rarely has the function of providing long-term general credit to governments been conceived as a principal role for commercial banks, which have usually extolled the virtues of secured or deposit-related loans to corporate customers or short-term self-liquidating trade finance. The growth of the Eurodollar market since the early 1960s and the type of lending adopted by bankers to utilize the flood of volatile short-term deposits are aberrations in the history of banking rather than continuations of its main stream. And even in this period not all banks—certainly not the Swiss—have plunged into riskier waters with such enthusiasm as the Americans. Already this aberration seems to be waning. The unmanageable flow of funds from OPEC sources is abating as oil prices drop and the oil-exporting countries increasingly need the dollar balances to fund their domestic growth or repay past borrowings.

One can hardly regret the demise of this peculiar era, the halcyon days of bank syndication officers, weekly organizing multi-million-dollar foreign credits for banks that knew not what else to do with their money. The traditional disciplines of lending broke down under the avalanche of available funds. Loans to Poland were syndicated on a basis that violated principles taught to first-year bank trainees: the scantiest economic statistics were sought, and reliance was put on a nonexistent guarantee, the platitude that "Russia won't let it default," without the slightest documentation to that effect. And yet the eminent banker Lewis Preston, chairman of Morgan Guaranty, was quoted in 1982 —as Poland defaulted—as saying, "You cannot be in the international business and not have loans in Poland."

Indeed? Surely we cannot regret the passing of an era when even the most conservative of U.S. banks played follow-my-leader like veritable sheep. Individual bank officers frequently speak of the sheep analogy; they almost appear to regard it as the inevitable behavior among large banks. One hopes not. One hopes that bank managers will decide, or be compelled by the marketplace, to return to behavior that will restore, rather than destroy confidence. □

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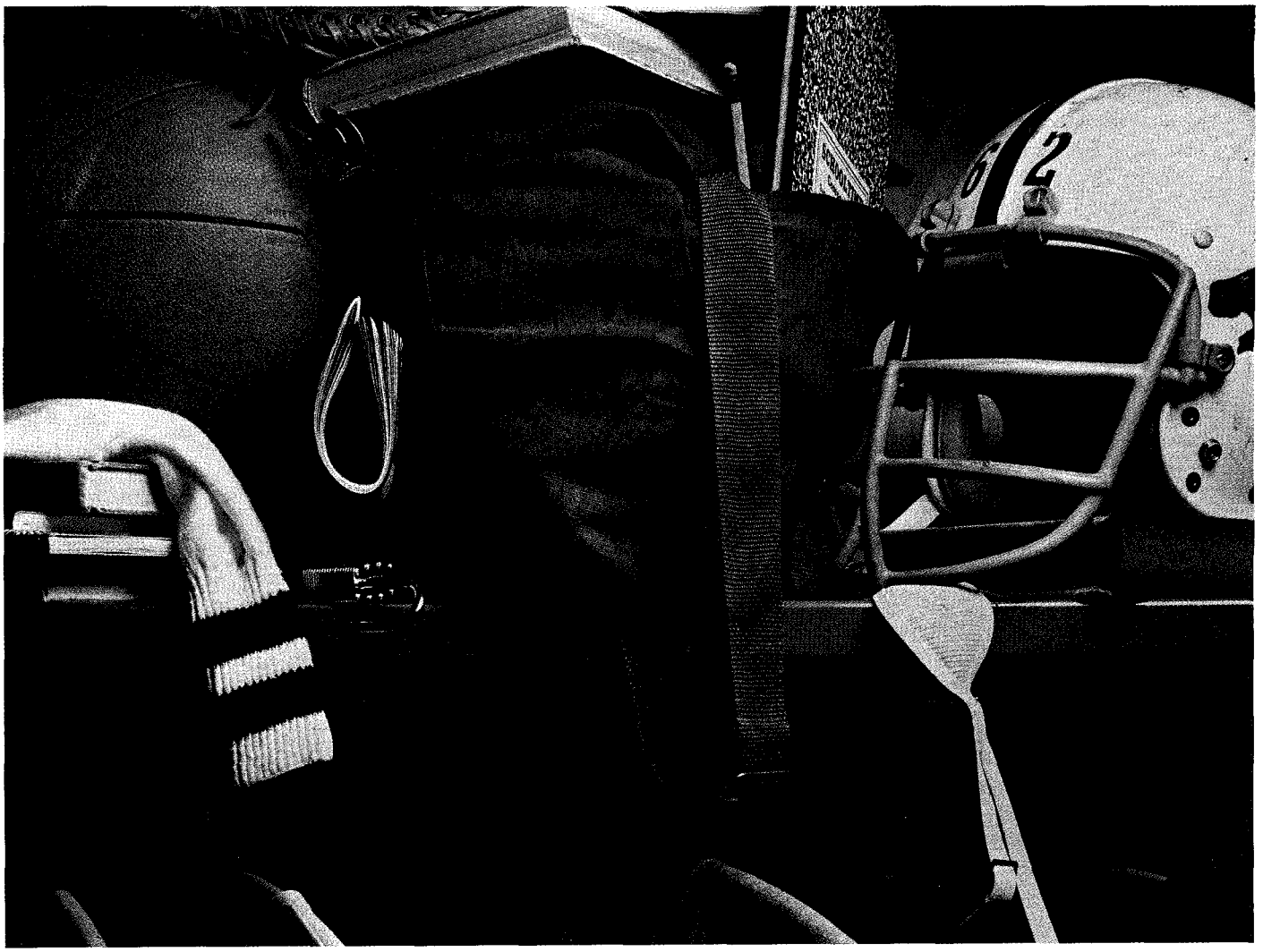
Answers to the

IS CIGARETTE ADVERTISING A MAJOR REASON WHY KIDS SMOKE? NO.

Advertising is consistently ranked among the least important factors influencing college students to start smoking, according to a study by a professor of psychology who heads a prominent university research center.

That finding is typical. Because the fac is, cigarette advertising is not designed to induce people to start smoking, kids or anybody else. Its objective is to promote brand identification and brand loyalty among people who already smoke.

So why do kids start smoking? In a recent study of teenage smoking habits in which 1500 students were interviewed, the



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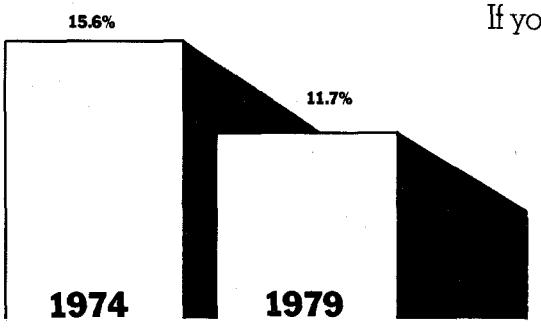
most asked questions about cigarettes.

students themselves named peer pressure as the most important influence in the initiation of smoking.

In a statement submitted at a recent congressional hearing, a noted California psychologist said that smoking behavior is a complex behavior determined by the interaction of several influences. This expert concluded that no single factor determines smoking behavior all the time.

Whatever the reasons for smoking may be, research shows that the smoking rate among teenagers has declined in the last several years. According to an American Cancer Society report based on a Government-funded study, teenage male smoking rates have dropped by one third to the lowest level since 1964.

This study revealed that during 1974-79, the relative decrease in smoking rates among teenage males was 32 percent. Among teenage females, 17 percent. Overall (see chart), the relative decrease among teenagers was 25 percent.



The relative decrease among teenage smokers was 25 percent during 1974-79. Source: 1979 "Teenage Smoking" study for U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

A more recent study conducted for a Government agency showed continuing declines among teenagers through 1981.

We think that's good. Because we think kids should not smoke. Smoking is an adult custom based on mature and informed judgment.

If you'd like to know more about this and other issues, write for our free information kit, "Answers to the most asked questions about cigarettes." Address: The Tobacco Institute, Suite 82K,1875 Eye St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

We offer it in the belief that full and free discussion of this important public issue is in the public interest.

WEIGH BOTH SIDES BEFORE YOU TAKE SIDES.

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SOVIET DISSENT IN THE 1980s

All Quiet on the Pro-Western Front?

ALEXANDER J. MOTYL AND ADRIAN KARATNYCKY

To judge by press accounts, Yuri Andropov is sitting pretty. His rise to power was unexpectedly swift and trouble-free. A recent wave of arrests appears to have crushed the Helsinki Watch Groups: the Soviet dissident movement is on the verge of extinction. But the dissident movement not only is alive, but also promises to vex Comrade Andropov even in his new post.

The apparent weakness of Soviet dissent stems more from a flawed perception than from the actual state of the movement. This perception, derived largely from the American press, is Moscow-centered to the extreme and views the dissident movement as consisting primarily, if not exclusively, of those activists living in or with good access to the USSR's capital.

Poor coverage of the dissident movement is also due to the fact that Western and particularly American news reports tend to be celebrity-oriented. Intellectuals, such as Yuri Orlov, Anatoly Shcharansky, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, and Andrei Sakharov, are convenient symbols for communicating ideas about dissent in the USSR. The press seems incapable of realizing that today's dissidents may not always be writers, artists, and scientists. Thus, a Moscow free of celebrities conveys the false sense of a USSR free of dissent. Grasping the true strength and range of Soviet dissent, therefore, requires looking beyond Moscow to the outlying, primarily non-Russian, regions of the country.

The dissident currents found in Moscow are generally paralleled in the national republics, with one important difference: the dissidents in the republics are non-Russians—Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Armenians, Central Asians. Their demands for cultural development and national autonomy or independence not only undermine the Soviet Union's undemocratic nature, but also pose a potent threat to its very existence as a "Union" of republics. While, for example, all the Helsinki Watch Groups—in Moscow, the Ukraine, Lithuania, Armenia, and Georgia—have concerned themselves with social, economic, political, and human-rights questions, only the non-Russians raise the equally important question of national self-determination.

The latest Soviet census, indicating that just under half of the USSR's population consists of non-Russians, demonstrates the importance of the non-Russian component in the Soviet dissident movement. Yet it is this aspect of Soviet dissent that is least known in the West.

A second strand of Soviet dissent that is barely known in the West is the dissident socialist opposition. Although the dissident Marxists are most commonly associated with the historian Roy Medvedev, he is far from the only, or even the most important, representative of this current. A prominent socialist tendency is seen in the *samizdat* journal *Poiski* (Searches), whose topics have ranged from religion to ethics to Eurocommunism. Interestingly, Raisa Lert, a co-founder of the journal with Pyotr Abovin-Egides, is a Marxist dissident who broke with Medvedev over his attacks on other human-rights activists.

Despite severe repression—three *Poiski* editors, Valery Abramkin, Viktor Sokirko, and Yuri Grimm, were arrested by the secret police—at least eight issues of the journal have appeared. (Issuance of the journal was suspended because the editors felt that the necessary sacrifices outweighed the tangible results.) Mr. Egides, who emigrated to France in 1980, feels that the quality of the journal was high, "yet it was reaching too small an audience. Therefore," he notes, "we decided to combine *samizdat* with *tamizdat*" (dissident works published in the West). Thus, the editors of *Poiski* hope to transmit "the voice of Russia," i. e. texts written in Russia, by publishing them in the West, in order to take these materials back to the Soviet Union and disseminate them there.

While not associated with *Poiski*, the unknown and currently incarcerated Ukrainian Marxist dissident, Yuri Badzio, has probably made the most important recent contribution to the theoretical development of a Ukrainian brand of Eurocommunism. Badzio wrote an open letter to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which contains a synopsis of a longer theoretical study. "My social position," writes Badzio, "is socialist, my political position is democratic. I formulate it as a conception of democratic socialism, close to Eurocommunism [and based on] ideological, cultural, and political pluralism."

Less theoretically sophisticated but perhaps more threatening to the Soviet regime was a commune of young Leningrad leftists, repressed by Soviet authorities in 1979, whose underground journal published the writings of an eclectic assortment of thinkers ranging from Herbert Marcuse to Mikhail Bakunin to Santiago Carillo. In late 1979, two members of the Movement of Revolutionary Communards were arrested in Leningrad by the KGB for posting leaflets attacking the "anti-human nature of the state as an apparatus of violence." In April of last year, the KGB arrested six Muscovites and charged them with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" for their involvement with three underground left-wing journals: *Variants*, *Socialism and the Future*, and *Left Turn*.

An even greater potential danger to the regime is the Soviet working class, which the authorities are determined to keep quiet at all costs, lest disturbances on the scale of those in Poland occur in the USSR. The Soviet Union is itself no stranger to large workers' strikes, such as those in Novocherkassk in 1962, at the Kiev Hydroelectric station in 1969, in Dnipropetrovsk and Dniprodzerzhinsk in 1972, and at a Kiev machine-building plant in 1973.

Reports of worker disturbances are reaching the West with increased frequency. In 1980, several thousand assembly-line workers walked out of the Gorky Motor Plant in protest over food shortages. Some 70,000 workers are said to have taken part in strikes at the Togliatti auto works. Strikes also have occurred

Alexander J. Motyl and Adrian Karatnycky have written on Soviet and East European affairs for The New Republic, Commentary, Survey, The American Spectator, *and* The New Leader. *They are co-authors of* Workers' Rights, East and West *(Transaction Books, 1980).*

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at a tractor factory in Chelyabinsk, at the Kama River truck factory in Naberezhnyye Chelny, and at a tractor factory in Tartu, Estonia. In early 1981, coal miners engaged in work stoppages in Vorkuta and at the Experimental Design Plant of the All-Union Institute of Livestock Breeding Machine Building, in Kiev. More recently strikes have been reported at the Kiev Motorcycle Plant (over reductions in piece-work rates and bonuses) and at a bus factory near Leningrad (over "economic conditions"). Here too the Moscow-periphery dichotomy applies in that the vast majority of known strikes in the USSR have taken place in outlying regions, which receive less attention than the central regions from the USSR's economic planners and are therefore more prone to shortages and other economic problems.

Moreover, the last four years have seen the rise of independent "dissident" trade-union groups, which represent an organized, though small, form of workers' discontent. The first group, the Association of Free Trade Unions of Workers in the Soviet Union, was organized by the mine worker, Vladimir Klebanov. Soon after Klebanov's group was neutralized by the KGB, the Free Interprofessional Association of Workers (SMOT) was founded in Moscow on October 24, 1978. By mid-1979, SMOT reportedly consisted of ten "locals" and two hundred members. Significantly, the KGB was unsuccessful in its attempt to eradicate the workers' group. As late as last summer the KGB arrested four SMOT activists and confiscated issues of the group's *Information Bulletin*.

SMOT's goal, "the defense of its members in cases of the violation of their rights in various spheres of their daily activities: economic, social, cultural, spiritual, religious, domestic, and political," resembles that of Solidarity, suggesting that workers' dissent in the USSR may also follow the pattern of worker radicalization in Poland. The potential "subversive" influence of Solidarity's past example need not be exaggerated. But should the USSR's economy go into a decline Soviet rulers may one day have their hands full protecting the "workers' state" from the workers.

Although all forms of dissent threaten to undermine the existing Soviet order, those which the Soviet authorities perceive as most dangerous are the national movements opposing Russification and supporting independence or autonomy for their states. Nearly three-fourths of all known political prisoners in the USSR are non-Russians, and among these the Ukrainians and Lithuanians predominate, although these two areas constitute only 17 per cent of the total population of the Soviet Union.

Although all forms of dissent threaten to undermine the existing Soviet order, those which the Soviet authorities perceive as most dangerous are the movements opposing Russification

The power and potential for broad-based support of national sentiments were amply demonstrated by petitions signed by 16,000 Lithuanians in 1972 and by 2,500 Crimean Tatars in 1978. Another manifestation of such mass sentiment has come from the western Ukrainian city of Lviv, where the young Ukrainian composer Volodymyr Ivasyuk was found hanged under mysterious circumstances in a secluded wood, in May 1979. The police informed Ivasyuk's family that the musician had committed suicide, despite the fact that his body had been mutilated and his eyes gouged out.

Ivasyuk's funeral in Lviv was turned into a huge manifestation of Ukrainian national consciousness. Thousands of Ukrainians gathered to pay tribute to this talented and popular artist and to listen to speeches by Vasyl and Petro Sichko, who addressed the gathering in the name of the Ukrainian Helsinki Watch Group. Vasyl Sichko called upon those present to commemorate this day as a day of mourning for Ukrainian culture. Petro Sichko outlined the work of the Ukrainian Group and called to those at hand to support the group. Two months later, both Sichkos were arrested and sentenced to three years of forced labor.

There are clear indications that the national movements are radicalizing. Again, the Ukraine provides an eloquent example. Recently, the Ukrainian Patriotic Movement, a new opposition group, issued its first public statement—a sweeping indictment of Soviet society in all its spheres that emphasized the illegitimacy of the Soviet Ukrainian government and, by logical extension, of the Soviet state. "Prices are on the increase," write the Ukrainians, "many products, foodstuffs among them, are unavailable. The spiritual and cultural climate here in the Ukraine and in the USSR has become a horror for all civilized people. . . . The USSR has been transformed into a military-police state with wide-ranging imperialist intentions. . . . For more than sixty years the so-called government in the Ukraine has been implementing this policy of national genocide. . . . For these reasons, we the victims of political

TO GET A CALM AND RATIONAL UNDERSTANDING OF THE ARMS RACE, WE'LL FIRST TAKE A LOOK AT THE NUCLEAR WEAPON AS A DETERRENT:
IMAGINE, IF YOU WILL, A 20 MEGATON NUCLEAR DEVICE DETONATING RIGHT OVER LITTLE TOMMY SUGGINS, HERE.
Chicago Tribune

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repression in the Ukraine turn to our people, to the governments of all the world, and to the United Nations, and declare our desire to secede from the USSR, and lead our nation out of Communist imprisonment."

Undoubtedly influenced by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the Ukrainian patriots also argue that an independent and free Ukraine, based on democratic principles, could be a guarantee of peace and stability throughout the world. According to them, "the decolonization of the USSR is the single guarantee of world peace."

The USSR's nationality difficulties are by no means limited to its European republics. With the rapid increase in population of the Central Asians, the resurgence of Islam, the disturbances in Iran, and the invasion of Afghanistan, the Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Turkmen, and other Moslem peoples may become a serious problem for the Kremlin.

According to recent reports in the Soviet press, a large-scale illegal, Moslem publishing effort has been broken up by Soviet authorities in Uzbekistan. The publishing operation succeeded in disseminating thousands of copies of a pamphlet, "On the Islamic Faith."

A close reading of the current Soviet press, likewise, reveals a great deal of anxiety on the part of the USSR's authorities. Even the influential *Literary Gazette* admitted that the USSR does indeed have an "Islamic problem," but blamed it exclusively on the effectiveness of anti-Soviet Western propaganda within the Moslem world. *Pravda* and *Izvestia* have run a number of articles since the invasion of Afghanistan portraying the great freedom enjoyed by Moslems in Soviet society. But prior to the invasion, *Pravda Vostoka*, the major Russian-language newspaper in Soviet Central Asia, virulently attacked Islam. The author of the attack decried the tendency of the intelligentsia to underestimate the reactionary role of Islam in the way of life, conduct, and consciousness of Soviet citizens, and asserted that there can be no coexistence between Islam and Communism.

Soviet authorities are fully aware of the problems of coping with large-scale dissident religious movements. After all, at present the most numerous of all Soviet dissenters are the religious activists. These include thousands of Baptists, Pentecostalists, Jehovah's Witnesses, Uniate Catholics, and members of the True Orthodox Church as well as the equally large numbers of Jews who desire to emigrate. Many of these groups, in particular the Baptists and Jews, have their own *samizdat* journals and printing presses and are often more forthright than political dissidents in expressing their beliefs and pressing their demands. Were even a small percentage of the 50 million Soviet Moslems to join the dissenters' ranks, the problem of controlling them could become unmanageable.

The number of dissidents in the Soviet Union would swell to more than 250,000 if religious activists and Jews seeking emigration were included

What then is the numerical strength of the Soviet dissident movement? This is a complex question whose answer depends on how broadly one defines the phenomenon. Cronid Lubarsky, a former Soviet political prisoner now in Munich, has estimated that there are about 10,000 human-rights activists in the USSR. Lubarsky made his computations on the basis of *samizdat* sources, primarily the *Chronicle of Current Events*: he counted some 2,000 activists mentioned in the *Chronicle* as undergoing some form of KGB persecution. Then, knowing from his and other dissidents' experience that for every dissident who becomes the subject of KGB interest or makes a public protest, four remain unnoticed, Lubarsky was able to estimate that there are approximately 10,000 dissidents in the USSR. This number would swell to more than 250,000 if religious activists and Jews seeking emigration were included.

Despite recent boasts by KGB officials that dissent has been crushed, the Soviet dissident movement is far from extinct. Furthermore, Americans need have no illusions that detente in any way softened the Soviets' hostility toward dissent or, conversely, that a more determined, "hard-line" U.S. policy toward the Soviet Union will result in increased Soviet hostility toward dissenters. The simple, all-too-often unrecognized reason is that the Kremlin *must* oppose dissent as a serious threat to Soviet stability as long as the USSR remains a totalitarian state. As Sovietologist Frederick Barghoorn has pointed out, "The conduct of the Soviet 'detente' policy of recent years is logically associated with domestic repression," insofar as the dangers inherent in detente (a greater flow of information, increased contact with the West, etc.) demand stricter internal control.

The future of Soviet dissent can perhaps be understood by examining the patterns of dissent in the 1960s and 1970s. Soviet dissent in the 1960s was the dissent of the elites. Sinyavsky, Solzhenitsyn, Sakharov—all of them in one way or another were privileged members of the Soviet social system. They were published authors and honored scientists. Their first steps at open opposition were attempts to extend their own freedoms and the freedoms of their own stratum. Yet the personal demands they articulated had, in and of themselves, a revolutionary component.

By the mid-1970s, individual protest had given way to organizational protest: the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights, the *Chronicle of Current Events*, the Committee for Human Rights, the Moscow-based Amnesty International. Then, in the late 1970s, there emerged a wide spectrum of more broadly based groups consisting of workers, nationalities, Marxists, Eurocommunists, feminists, leftists, religious activists, peace activists, and Helsinki monitors. And so writers and scientists were joined by less prominent dissidents embodying demands that have the potential for mass support. The fact that most of these embattled new groups cooperate with one another and defend activists who have fallen victim to KGB repression is an indication that claims that the dissident movement has been routed are misleading. Indeed, it is in part as a response to the persistence of dissent that Party rulers chose to entrust the reins of state to the security apparatus. The rapid rise of Andropov and his KGB cohorts clearly suggests that Soviet authorities fear the emergence of opposition movements in an era of projected economic decline.

Will the leaders succeed in crushing dissent? As long as the nationalities are denied their aspirations, the intelligentsia lack intellectual freedom, working and living conditions remain poor for most workers, and Baptists, Catholics, Jews, and Moslems are denied religious freedom—the dissidents will always be there. □

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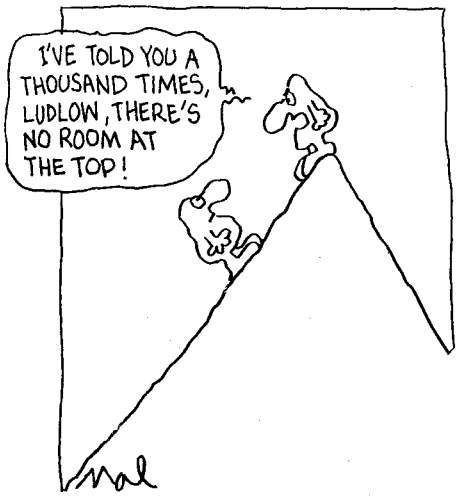
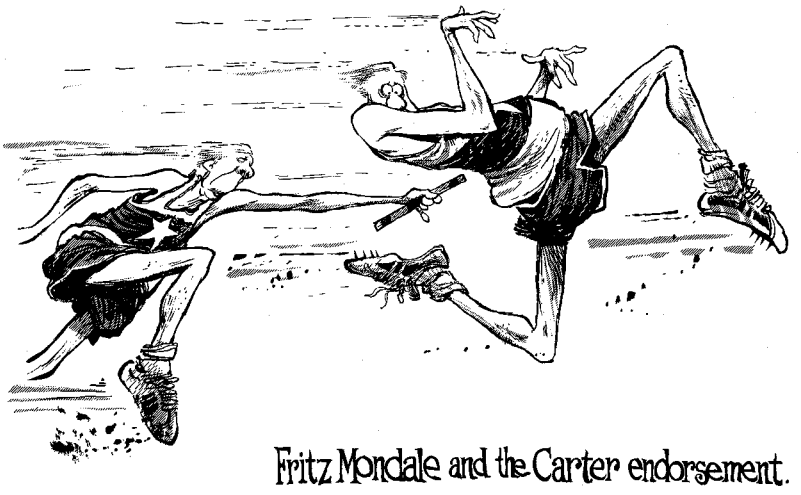
help !!!!

Mike Mansfield Prescribes

Ambassador Mansfield's cajoling
  Japan to spend more on defense.
"A little bit more," he's been saying,
  Concerned about giving offense.
He's wary of raising some goosebumps
  In Taipei, Manila, and Seoul,
Since staying a little bit pregnant
  Requires enormous control.

W. H. VON DREELE





Fritz Mondale and the Carter endorsement.

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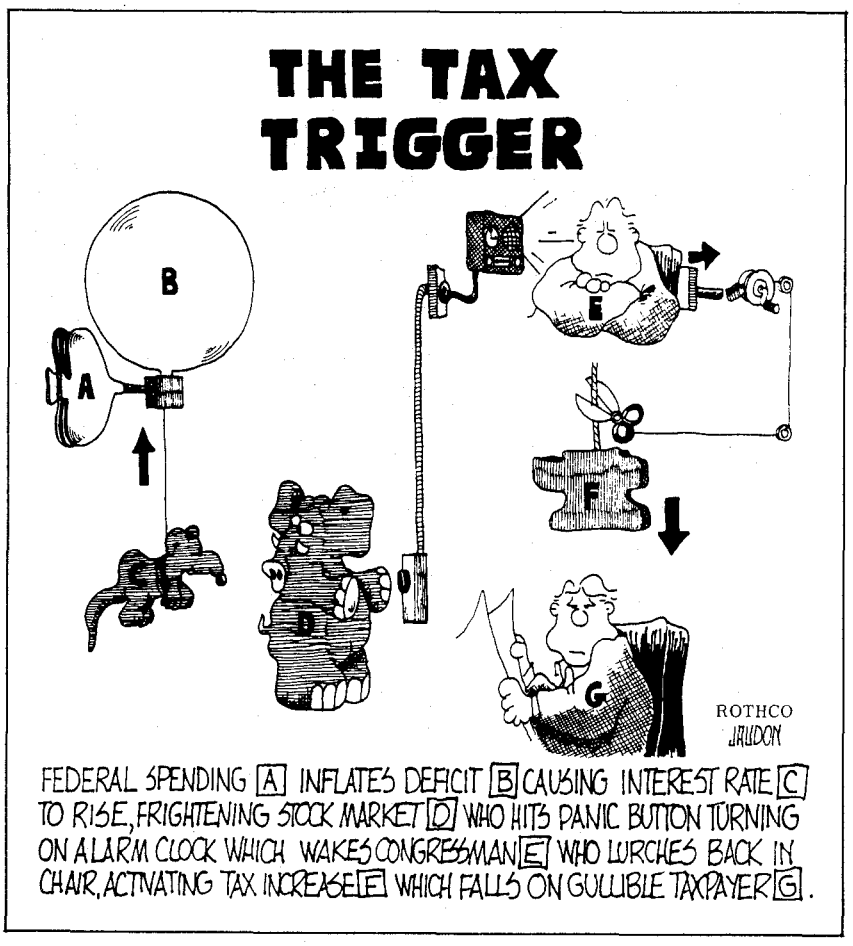
THE TAX TRIGGER
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JAUDON
FEDERAL SPENDING [A] INFLATES DEFICIT [B] CAUSING INTEREST RATE [C] TO RISE, FRIGHTENING STOCK MARKET [D] WHO HITS PANIC BUTTON TURNING ON ALARM CLOCK WHICH WAKES CONGRESSMAN [E] WHO LURCHES BACK IN CHAIR, ACTIVATING TAX INCREASE [F] WHICH FALLS ON GULLIBLE TAXPAYER [G].

IT'S GETTING SO I CAN'T EVEN THINK WITHOUT SEEING IT IN PRINT.
News
REAGAN CAN'T EVEN THINK WITHOUT SEEING IT IN PRINT
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Abroad

Bonn *End of a Gang?*

The recent arrest of two men and a woman believed to be the last of the chieftains of the Red Army faction has put an official end to the era of the Baader-Meinhof gang, the high priests of sociological terrorism in postwar Germany. The Red Army faction sprang from the ranks of middle-class university students who, saturated with ideology, sought revenge on the Nazi past and on the bourgeois conformity and complacency of the 1970s. Systematic assassinations and large-scale robberies were their tools, paralleling the still-active Red Brigades in Italy. Now that the last of their known leaders have been caught, the German public and the German police are looking forward to a spell of relief. Much credit goes to Horst Herold, former chief of the West German Criminal Investigation Bureau, a unit specially organized to hunt terrorists. Herold, known as Big Brother, employed three thousand specialists who fed millions of facts into computers about almost everyone involved in left-wing activities, including details of how they traveled and what library books they borrowed. A new category of "possible suspect" was created that, along with such attractions as million-mark rewards for making a denunciation, created a "manhunt" atmosphere that disturbed some. A change of political attitude, however, has also played its part in the decline of terrorism in Germany. The universities today are no longer the incubators of violence they once were. Activists tend to expend their energies in causes such as the ecological or pacifist movements, and even to ally themselves with the traditional political parties. Nevertheless, the police are not relaxing completely. In 1982, there were 57 attacks against American personnel and property in the Federal Republic, and more than one hundred groups were identified as "revolutionary cells." For terrorism, it may only be a holiday.

Baghdad *Feelers*

Iraq has put out feelers to Egypt in a move to heal the breach between the two Arab countries. This may herald a major change in internal politics in the Middle East. Iraq broke with Cairo over the latter's signing a peace treaty with Israel in 1979. Baghdad's position in its war with Iran, which has brought few successes, even of prestige, to the government, has doubtless been the main motive for this démarche, which took the form of an interview Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz gave recently to the Cairo daily *Al-Ahram*. Mr. Aziz said in the interview that he was prepared to meet a high-level Egyptian official either here or in Cairo. Iraq's move toward reconciliation is independently taken and not in conjunction with other Arab states that also broke with Cairo over the Israel treaty. This notably includes Syria, with which Iraq currently has bad relations, and which has been the Arab world's most implacable foe of any accommodation with the state of Israel.

Peking *Male Children Only*

A combination of ancient prejudice and a new law requiring that married couples produce no more than one child has had disastrous effects on female babies in China, according to a "Save the Baby Girls" campaign launched in the press here. Girl infants were sometimes drowned or deliberately abandoned in the rural China of the past, and the practice evidently continues today. The traditional Chinese yearning for male progeny, because of both the need for labor in the fields and the desire to have male descendants, survives into the present. Now that single-child families are becoming obligatory, the desirability of that child being a boy has risen. One result of this female infanticide is that in many communes there are now three boys for every two girls; finding wives for these boys in the future is a subject of some anxiety. All the more so since China is one of the few countries in the world that still have more men than women—51.5 to 48.5 per cent. The situation has alarmed Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang. In a recent report to the People's National Assembly, he said that "the whole of society must vigorously condemn these criminal acts of drowning of nurslings of the feminine sex, and the consequent pain inflicted on the mothers . . ." One palliative is to allow rural couples to have two children provided they move in with the wife's parents. According to Chinese tradition, a young couple lives with the husband's family.

Buenos Aires *Beef*

The export value of Argentine beef, the most famous of this country's international commodities, dropped dramatically by almost $200 million in the last year, reflecting the diminishing value of the Argentine peso. Although the amount of beef exported went up more than 15 per cent, especially in the categories of frozen and processed meat, the prices paid Argentine dealers fell from $1.4 billion to well below $1.2 billion. Argentina's biggest beef customer is the Soviet Union, taking well over a quarter of the export total. Egypt, the European Common Market, and Iraq are next in line.

Ross Rothco

"When Paul Newman says the arms race should stop, then the arms race *should* stop."

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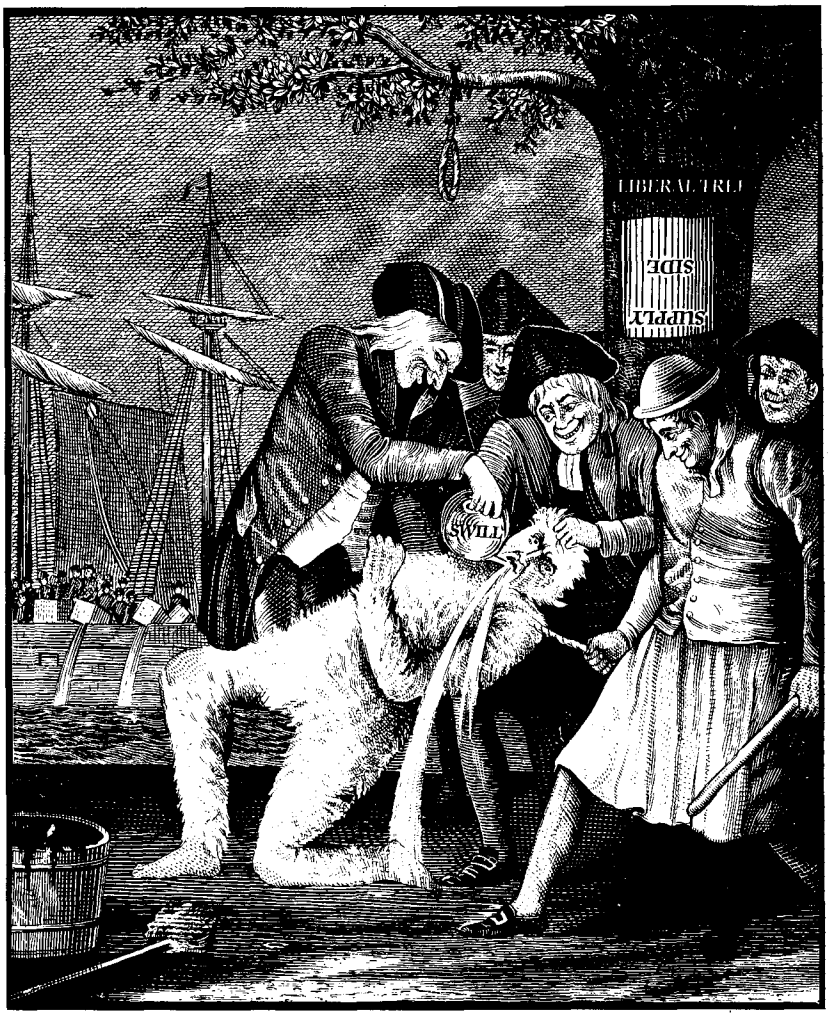
Are Your Economics Professors Force Feeding You Keynesian Swill?



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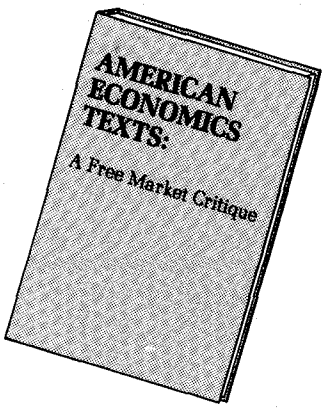

FOREWORD BY WILLIAM SIMON

YOUNG AMERICA'S FOUNDATION
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LETTER FROM LONDON

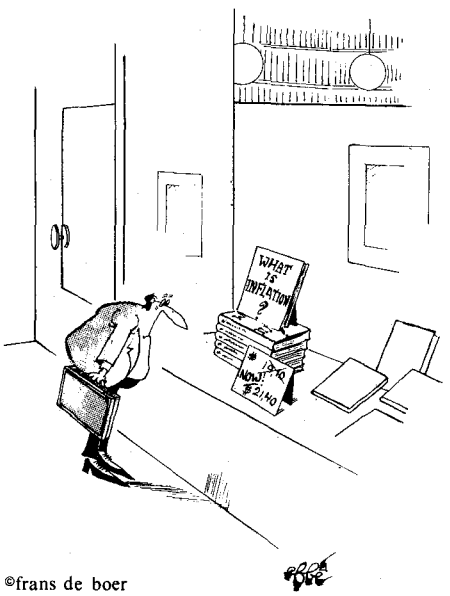
All the Way with Thatcher?

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

THIS IS probably an election year in Britain. It doesn't have to be; Mrs. Thatcher could wait until spring 1984. The timing of an election—and the Prime Minister can choose virtually any time up to five years from the previous polling day—is a matter of the most delicate political judgment. Many elections have been lost through being called too soon or delayed too long. Coming very close to the five-year deadline is always dangerous, though; it leaves no room for maneuver if circumstances should suddenly become adverse.

The likeliest dates for this election, therefore, are in the early summer or, more probably, October.

President Reagan has, of course, no such choice of date: but he will certainly watch Mrs. Thatcher's campaign and its outcome with keen interest. There will be lessons to be learned. The indications so far suggest that Mrs. Thatcher plans to run on a remarkably uncompromising platform. She will bleakly admit that unemployment is going to remain very high and that economic growth will be slow. Nevertheless, she will say, her government's tight fiscal and monetary policy, designed to squeeze inflation out of the system, has been right, and, if re-elected, she means to pursue it.



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Altogether she will offer as few electoral bribes as the Conservative Party managers judge politically possible. The government has, in reality, already begun relaxing its policy a little, subsidizing uneconomic steel mills and urging new expenditures on municipal housing, and the spring budget statement will certainly contain a sweetener or two. The appearance of iron determination, clothed in a velvet manner, suits Mrs. Thatcher's temperament and, she believes, the mood of the country.

Whether her assessment proves correct remains to be seen, but there is some evidence from the opinion polls that the recession and its hardships have not damaged the Conservative government nearly as much as might have been expected.

One of the disadvantages of the party system is that electors have to vote for a complete bundle of policies. Election campaigns are rarely, if ever, confined to a single issue. There can be little doubt, however, that the forthcoming election in Britain—and the subsequent one in America—will be mainly about economics.

The achievements of Mrs. Thatcher's government in this crucial field are, at best, patchy. There has been a real success in bringing down the rate of inflation. But the political penalty of that success is an immediate transfer of attention by the media and by the public away from rising prices onto unemployment. The unemployment figures have risen steadily and are still rising. The media and the government's political enemies constantly stress, indeed exaggerate, the horror of it.

Despite the number of unemployed, quite a lot of jobs still attract no suitable applicants, and basic services are therefore hindered for lack of personnel. The explanation of this is that the combined effect of high welfare payments and heavily taxed low wages makes working simply not worthwhile for many people. At the same time, minimum-wage laws, regulations rendering it difficult for an employer to sack anybody who has once been hired, and the cost of social security contributions prevent the creation of marginal jobs that would be particularly suitable for the unqualified young. Against these job-destroying aspects of the welfare state the Conservative government has grumbled but found no courage to act.

Some tentative measures are under way to curb the tyrannical power of the unions, which have been the prime destroyers of Britain's prosperity. Over the past year, several major strikes have been defeated and others averted. Militant union leaders have found their rank-and-file unwilling to follow them into suicidal battles. This onset of moderation was attributable partly to the government's firmness but more to the fear of unemployment. It may not survive the end of the recession.

Cuts or 'Cuts'

The clearest and biggest failure of this government has been its inability to reduce the total burden of taxation, as it promised to do, a failure caused by its equal inability to hold down, let alone cut, public expenditure. There have been plenty of "cuts," but these did no more than curb the rise: and each one was greeted with a howl of execration. Mrs. Thatcher, like President Reagan, has found that this most essential part of the overall strategy is also the most politically difficult.

She left any real assault on public expenditure until it was too late. And the pressures on the government—from industry no less than from the unions and from special-interest groups—have all been to spend, not cut. The result is that most people are paying more taxes now than they were when the Conservatives won the last election.

Mrs. Thatcher's excuse is that she has always said it would take at least two parliamentary terms to achieve her objectives. Faith in such will-o'-the-wisp promises is, however, running low. There exists, on the other hand, a general acceptance that Britain's economy and industries were flabby, and that the tightening effect of the government's economic policy has, painfully, put the country in better condition to take advantage of the upturn when it comes.

One wholly unpredicted factor has

(Continues on page 209)

Mr. Lejeune is NR's *man in London.*

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All the Angels Have Big Feet

The Purple Decades: A Reader
By Tom Wolfe
Farrar, 396 pp., $17.50

HUGH KENNER

Wheeeeeeeeeeeeee! went the Sixties, and Tom Wolfe was *there*, on the scene, in the scene, in Sulka four-in-hand and four-piece suit—make that *five*-piece?—yellow piping running round the grey like lemon neon, the lime weskit deep-lapeled and double-breasted; the Sixties, back when there was still a Walter Winchell, and Truman Capote was oooh, *big*;

and Thuddathud-*kerbump*! went the Seventies like Paul Volcker falling downstairs, and *Life* itself folded, and Drew Pearson had departed earth's scenes unwhoreshipped, watch it, unhorsewhipped, and there was Tom Wolfe still, still as tall and just a tad greyer, still the nonchalant master of the neon-piped sentence,

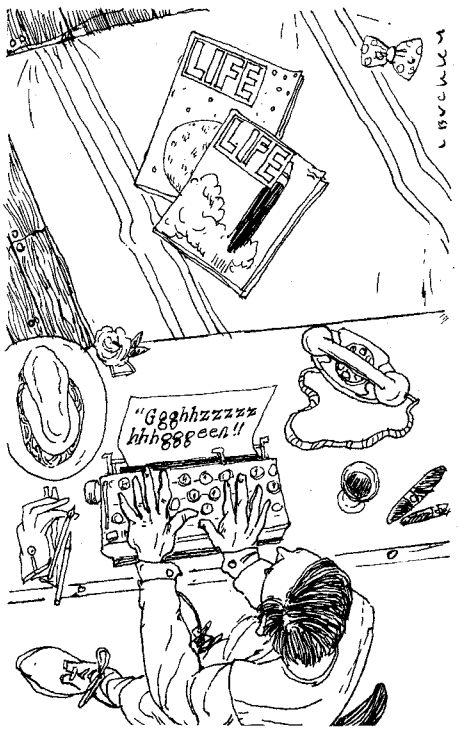
and Gassssp, wheeeeze, go the Eighties, and, ta da! Heeeeere's . . . Tom!!!, the smile still tight, the amused candid eyes unblinking, with a *Reader*, no less (pages that won't stay open bound in hideous purple cloth that wrinkles up the spine because that is what book manufacture has come to in the Eighties, even at $17.50 and Farrar, Straus & Giroux should be ashamed), to show us in his mocking mirrors what we've all been through.

How intact we've survived it all is disputable, but Tom Wolfe has been there to help, not least by devising a style the range of which can get so much of it together. He is famous for his paratactic syntax hand in hand with typographic hi-jinx—

> . . . and boy, they run out like ants and pull those barrels and boards and sawhorses out of the way, and then—Ggghhzzzzzzzhhhhhhgggggggzzzzzzeeeeeong!—gawdam! there he goes again, it was him, Junior Johnson! with a gawdam agent's si-reen and a red light in his grille!

That's Junior Johnson running a revenooers' roadblock in a car he's disguised as a revenooer's by nothing more than a siren and a red light. That's also Tom Wolfe, in temporary disguise as a good ol' boy, letting you hear Junior's story the way the boys tell it in No'th Ca'lina where by damn they're *talking* not for gawd's sakes writing.

Such is his trick: disguise: sink into the woodwork: become the very *voice* of the woodwork. It's been misunderstood; when "The Pump-House Gang" (1966) voiced the very throb of adrenalin that drove mindless voyeurs through the Watts riots ("Watts was a blast"), *Partisan Review* did not fail to call the brilliant paragraph "a virtual endorsement of the attitudes it mimics." But literati always tend to think that mimicry betokens admiration (else why the trouble? They take trouble only over measured Presbyterian judiciousness). Literati also worry when horrid alienations aren't allowed to evanesce but get fixed in print: some reader might *acquire* them!



Literati, there's the problem. We're all literati, else we'd not be fixed on this page. We look to print for information and opinion, and most of America has more sense (though, alas, it looks to TV). Tom Wolfe writes (for literati—for page-turners) about people who seldom turn pages: stock-car drivers, a self-made "art collector" whose fiscal base was a taxi fleet, hangers-out with surfboards, cunning intimidators of bureaucrats, "The Girl of the Year" (whose name, if you've forgotten from '64, was Baby Jane Holzer), astronauts, Vietnam pilots. . . . Literati find such types strange, unless the *New York Times* reporter makes them talk like a *Times* editorial, as he normally does.

Wolfe's only recourse is to make them seem stranger than strange: either so purple their purpleness turns neutral and we get a fix on their world—that's what distressed the *Partisan Review* man—or so one-foot-after-the-other reasonable that we follow hypnotized the decisions of, say Chuck Yeager, who led

Hugh Kenner *teaches literature at Johns Hopkins and is the author of many books including* A Homemade World *and* The Pound Era. . . . **Jeffrey Meyers**'s D. H. Lawrence and the Experience of Italy *was recently published by the University of Pennsylvania Press.* . . . **William Murchison** *is an editorial-page editor for the* Dallas Morning News. . . . **Terry Teachout** *is jazz critic for the* Kansas City Star.

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mankind through the sound barrier after a night so wild he'd broken two ribs, and in sober daylight had to hide his condition from the higher-ups, then whang the X-1's door shut with his only operative hand, his left, abetted by a nine-inch piece of broomstick.

Wolfe's prose tends to swerve toward list-dominated or else verb-dominated passages. These reflect, respectively, people defined by what they *have* and by what they *do*. The list is the oldest of all written forms. (Writing had to be invented to preserve lists; stories you can remember.) And lists gratify imaginations fixated by *things*. When Linear-B was an undeciphered script, scholars hoped for hexameter uplift. But once cracked, its inscriptions proved to be storehouse inventories.

LINEAR-B was the tool of Minoan bureaucrats. Bureaucrats always need to know your inventory of wine jars or dark oxen or flush toilets. They flourish among thing-centered people, who likewise live amid lists, as Flaubert and Joyce knew, and Wolfe knows. Leopold Bloom's thousand-word beatific vision of 1904 was confected by his creator from hardware-store catalogues:

> . . . watercloset on mezzanine provided with opaque singlepane oblong window, tipup seat, bracket lamp, brass tiered brace, armrests, footstool, and artistic oleograph on inner face of door . . .

Here is a Tom Wolfe equivalent, 1981:

> . . . The couch would be a mattress on top of a flush door supported by bricks and covered with a piece of monk's cloth. There would be more monk's cloth used as curtains and on the floor would be a sisal rug that left corduroy ribs on the bottoms of your feet in the morning. The place would be lit by clamp-on heat lamps with half-globe aluminum reflectors and ordinary bulbs replacing the heat bulbs. At one end of the rug, there it would be . . . *the Barcelona chair*. . . . When you saw that holy [i.e., $550] object on the sisal rug, you knew you were in a household where the fledgling architect and his young wife had sacrificed everything to bring the symbol of the godly mission into their home.

Another, 1965:

> Out front there are two gasoline pumps under an overhanging roof. Inside there are a lot of things like a soda-pop cooler filled with ice, Coca-Colas, Nehi drinks, Dr. Pepper, Double Cola, and a gumball machine, a lot of racks of Red Man chewing tobacco, Price's potato chips, Okay peanuts, cloth hats for working outdoors in, dried sausages, cigarettes, canned goods, a little bit of meat and flour, fly swatters, and I don't know what all.

Another, 1966:

> . . . apartments where the lobby and the doorman look so great you feel you have to dress up to step on the sidewalk or you're letting down the building, esoteric New York day schools for the younger children and boarding schools for the older ones, lunches at La Grenouille where expensive matrons in Chanel suits have two bloody Marys and smile—teeth!—at tailored young men with names like Freddy, Ferdi, and Tug . . .

Things have no social existence save as they are valued. These are lists of *choices*, of acts of precious attention. Their contours yield the fever-charts of subcultures. (And your UHF circuitry picks up Wolfe's preference for the store with the gumball machines, the choices it offers being less pressured by mere chic.)

At the bottom of a *thing* subculture is appetite, which is static: when you have the Chanel suit or the gumball, you have it. (Though appetite soon gets bored, and wishes it had something else.) Against his cultures of lists, which encompass parts of America no other literatus has visited, Wolfe plays the cultures of *deeds*, which are normally relegated to the Huntin' Shootin' Stock Car magazines and to Action Comics. For twenty years he has been fascinated by this polarization. His book on art as a collectible (*The Painted Word*, 1975) derives from the earliest piece in the present *Reader*, "Bob & Spike," 1966. His fascination with the test pilots and astronauts of *The Right Stuff* (1979) is continuous with his interest in stock-car racer Junior Johnson, "The Last American Hero" (1965).

Certain moral discriminations do not waver. Bob & Spike Scull's drive to collect "art" is untouched by timeless contemplation: they are magnetized by the money and the status it brings. Of Junior Johnson and Chuck Yeager on the contrary we cannot define something that they want to accomplish. Hemingway talked of a Code, and Wolfe gets little further. They exemplify the Right Stuff.

As a satirist, therefore, Wolfe can complete his arc; as a laudator, he remains a stiff-lipped romantic. We're not yet past Hemingway in that domain. "The Truest Sport," a day with two naval pilots and as fulfilling a piece of writing as came out of the Vietnam mess, finally tells us only that such pilots lock themselves into a stoical myth of their own survival.

And Tom Wolfe? No, unlike Hemingway he's not locked into a myth. His mobile viewpoint still saves him, and his self-mockery. Despite appearances, he has no self-dramatization. The double-breasted weskits, the ivory-handled rolled umbrellas, these are not him, nor even his values, but appurtenances to speak for him.

They say, "Absurd. I am no part of identifiable society; in New York a transplanted Southern Gentleman perhaps, though in the South an anachronism. No, I am a *writer*, as absurd as that. I cannot help it if chic readers condescend to my subjects. On the side, I amuse myself with the resources of the printing-press, the ultimate resources a writer has. They permit me to write down strings like 'Gggghhzzzzzzzhhhhhhgggggzzzzzzzeeeeeong!,' and if you think that absurd, or me absurd, or (heaven help you) Junior Johnson absurd, then your mirror is clouded indeed." □

The Wall Street Journal
By Lloyd Wendt
Rand McNally, 448 pp., $16.95

Inside the Wall Street Journal
By Jerry M. Rosenberg
Macmillan, 335 pp., $16.95

THE REPUBLICAN BIBLE

WILLIAM MURCHISON

The *Wall Street Journal* clearly isn't for everybody. Its makeup—a grey sea of type, rolling gently across thirty or forty pages—could lull an insomniac to sleep. Its news columns are full of entrancing items about bond issues and livestock prices. There aren't even any photographs, for crying out loud!

So why do an estimated six million people read the *Journal* every day? Why is it not just the country's largest newspaper but also the only thing resembling a national paper? Because, at its self-imposed task—calmly, lucidly, fairly conveying economic and political news—the *Wall Street Journal* is tops.

At hand are two new books on the

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Journal, timed to coincide with the centennial of the parent company, Dow Jones & Co. Neither book is great shakes as literature, but both are carried a long way by the inherent fascination of the story they tell.

The *Journal* was born July 8, 1889, the offspring of three enterprising men, Charles Dow, Edward Jones, and Charles Bergstresser, who seven years earlier had started reporting stock-market news via messenger boys. Under the magisterial Clarence W. Barron—financial sage, celebrity, friend of Presidents—who bought control in 1902, the paper began truly to flourish. In 1929, the year after Barron's death, the *Journal* started a Pacific Coast edition and began advertising itself as "America's National Newspaper." Still, circulation remained relatively small—52,000 in 1930—and would drop by more than half as the Depression deepened.

The classy *Journal* known to modern readers began evolving in response to the Depression. The "What's News" feature on page one was created in 1934 by Bernard Kilgore, a young DePauw University graduate brought aboard by *Journal* president and fellow DePauw alumnus Kenneth C. (Casey) Hogate. Kilgore, as he ascended steadily to the top, would make other signal contributions to the *Journal*, including the popular "leader" features on page one.

By 1947, Kilgore was in total charge, and the *Journal*'s golden era was ready to commence. Kilgore stressed broad coverage for a broad readership. He found financial people "nice and all that" but insufficient as a base for a great newspaper. When Kilgore died in 1967, circulation was over a million, and Dow Jones's profits were 65 times larger than in 1945.

Editorially, the *Journal* has always been forcefully conservative. It backed Cleveland and his Gold Democrats, revered Calvin Coolidge, and broke with Franklin Roosevelt over the Silver Purchase Act of 1934. On Social Security, the *Journal*'s prescience was remarkable. "It is conceivable," said a 1935 editorial, "that the Social Security Fund may become a pure convention of bookkeeping." As of course it has.

Under editor William Grimes (editor being the *Journal*'s traditional title for its editorial-page chieftain), the paper fought U.S. entry into World War II and the postwar excesses of the Fair Deal. (Harry Truman exasperatedly called the *Journal* "the Republican Bible.") Vermont Connecticut Royster, Grimes's successor, softened the tone of the page without impairing its conservatism.

Neither editor ever became quite so much the public figure as the present incumbent, Robert Bartley. Bartley's editorial page would become one of the jet-propulsion engines of what was styled, in its early days at least, the Reagan Revolution. A *Journal* editorialist, Jude Wanniski, sold Bartley on the idea of two comparatively unknown economists, Arthur Laffer and Robert Mundell; and soon the *Journal* was cogently arguing for tax cuts as a prescription for stagflation. Reagan read, thought, believed. The *Journal*'s "supply-side economics" became a central part of his economic program. A more recent, and no less praiseworthy, *Journal* campaign has helped focus public attention on the Soviet Union's use of chemical and biological weapons in Southeast Asia and Afghanistan.

Press critic Ben Bagdikian claims to find the *Journal*'s editorials predictable on free enterprise and big-government questions. Big deal. Seven days a week, the *New York Times* editorial page is just as predictably on the opposite side of these questions. Bagdikian means essentially that he doesn't approve of what the *Journal* says. Anyhow, why impeach for narrowness an editorial page that affords Arthur Schlesinger Jr. his most visible pulpit?

Lloyd Wendt, author of a massive history of the *Chicago Tribune*, has written the more scholarly of the two new books on the *Journal*. There are plenty of facts here, the problem being that Wendt doesn't do much with them, apart from explaining what a good newspaper the *Journal* is. What about more subjective matters, such as the *Journal*'s influence, or the tensions between business and the press?

Jerry Rosenberg, a business professor, has delivered himself of a breezy treatise on the modern *Journal* as a whole. There are chapters on the paper's history, on its First Section, on the Dow Jones empire, on the lively *National Observer*, the *Journal*'s failed attempt to operate a genuine, all-purpose national newspaper. To general readers, Rosenberg's book, being shorter and broader, will probably commend itself more strongly than Wendt's.

Both books are entirely friendly to the *Journal*—as why shouldn't they be? Hatchet jobs are for enterprises that deserve or invite them, not for the magnificent, inimitable likes of the *Wall Street Journal*. □

This Quiet Dust
By William Styron
Random House, 305 pp., $17.50

A GENEROUS SPIRIT

JEFFREY MEYERS

This Quiet Dust (the title comes from Emily Dickinson) is a collection of disparate essays written during the last thirty years for *Harper's*, *Esquire*, and *The New York Review of Books*. The coherence of the book could have been vastly improved by starting with Styron's fascinating memoirs of his native place, which has continued to nourish his imagination, the Virginia Tidewater: "warm as mother's milk, and just as reassuring"; his education at Christchurch School and at Duke University; his service with the Marines in World War II and Korea; the origins of his early novels; his years in Paris and Rome, and travels on the Nile; his friendships with masters like Robert Penn Warren and coevals like James Jones.

Styron should have placed all the literary essays together; dropped the reviews that were too slight to reprint; cut the purple prose ("the incomparable river itself and the timeless tableaux of its shores"); eliminated the repetition of Warren's influence on *Lie Down in Darkness* and his belief that writers on Auschwitz (which provoked *Sophie's Choice*) must remember the Christian as well as the Jewish victims; and written a stronger introduction, for his retrospective comments are always illuminating.

Despite these faults, this book reveals

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RANDOM NOTES

■ More March Titles: Sidney Hook's *Marxism and Beyond* (Rowman & Littlefield/Littlefield, Adams, $19.95) is a collection of essays and book reviews on the subject of the naïveté of Marx and his intellectual and political followers, and on socialist economists like Harrington, Galbraith, and Heilbroner; it concludes with "In Defense of the Cold War," in which Hook argues for containment and a strong nuclear deterrent, and "A Critique of Conservatism," in which he defends the welfare state against attacks from the New Right.

A Stroll with William James (Harper & Row, $16.50), by Jacques Barzun, argues that pragmatism is not of itself a philosophy but an explanation of how an individual mind arrives at a notion of truth. The period 1890-1914, Barzun believes, saw "the reign of the brothers William and Henry" in Western thought. (An excerpt appeared in the February 4 issue of *NR*.)

Edward Callan's *Auden: A Carnival of Intellect* (Oxford, $25) describes Auden as an occasional poet of the age, a chronicler of the twentieth century, whose political verse was essentially a side-stepping from the main path of his art. . . . *Marcel Proust: Selected Letters, 1880-1903* (Doubleday, $19.95), translated by Ralph Mannheim and with an introduction by James M. Cocking, is the first of several volumes planned by the publisher, taking us through the novelist's 32nd year.

John McPhee's new book is *In Suspect Terrain* (Farrar, $12.95), a continuation of his geological explorations described in *Basin and Range*. In the present volume he discusses glaciation and the history of the Appalachian range.

In the Spirit of Crazy Horse (Viking, $20.95), by Peter Matthiessen, concerns the case of Leonard Peltier, a Sioux from the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota who was convicted of taking part in the killing of two FBI agents in 1973, during the "second battle of Wounded Knee." Matthiessen exonerates the American Indian Movement of Communist conspiracy and accuses large corporations of seeking to obtain minerals beneath tribal lands.

—CW

the style and intelligence of his superb novels, and is both stimulating and interesting. Styron's dominant theme (although he does not define it) is oppression: in slavery, prison, concentration camps, war, massacres—even in Mayor Daley's Chicago, where the sound-resistant plate-glass windows of a restaurant "offered the dumbshow of cops clubbing people to the concrete."

The best essays concern the condemned black murderer Ben Reid; Styron's search in his home county for the origins, traces, motives, and meaning of the rebellious slave Nat Turner; and the self-righteous career of General MacArthur. Though Styron does not explain how such radical defects of character as MacArthur's led to an astonishing capacity for leadership, he provides a fine peroration on the horrors of military life: "hideous barracks in Missouri and Texas, sexual deprivation, hot asphalt drill-fields and deafening rifle ranges, daily tedium unparalleled in its ferocity, awful food, bad pay, ignorant people, and a ritualistic demand for ass-kissing almost unique in the quality of its humiliation." He also notes the connection between racism and our wars in the Pacific and Vietnam, and observes that no great writing can evolve from a depraved militarism.

The longest section of the book is about Styron's moving and ultimately successful attempt to save Ben Reid, who had beaten a woman to death with a hammer, from electrocution. After four years in solitary confinement, Reid's sentence was commuted to life imprisonment only a few hours before he was scheduled to die. Reid repented and reformed and justified the Christian idealism of Styron, who was overjoyed "to see this candidate for redemption come alive from his benighted dungeon." A few days before Reid was due for parole, he escaped from prison, abducted the mother of two young children, and, in a deserted parking lot, raped her. Styron draws parallels between the cases of Reid and of Jack Abbott, who was released from prison through the efforts of Norman Mailer and then murdered a young playwright. Despite murder and rape, the misguided Styron still believes in Ben Reid, the perfect candidate, according to Styron's own evidence, for the electric chair.

The same kind of moral naïveté explains Styron's praise for two thoroughly rotten books. He unconvincingly compares James Blake's account of homosexuality in prison, *The Joint*, to the work of Jean Genet. And he admires *The Big Love*, Florence Aadland's biography of her nymphet daughter, who was raped first by Errol Flynn and then by another Hollywood madman who blew out his brains in her presence. The child forgave Flynn (he merely tore off her dress, the madman ruined it) and concentrated on "the lovely clothes, the spending, the famous people we'll meet," while the mother was charged with contributing to the delinquency of a minor. Despite its unspeakable vulgarity, Styron extols "the sense of decency and high principles which informs every page" and finds the book "inexplicably touching."

Styron is also flawed as a literary critic. His outsider's view of Faulkner's funeral—brother Murry is in the FBI in Mobile but the down-home cookin's real good—is curiously flat. His portrait of the bearish Philip Rahv, founder of the *Partisan Review*, is not nearly as effective as William Barrett's in *The Truants*. Styron is tolerant of Thomas Wolfe's weaknesses, though bored by the colossi of the Nile, which suffer from the same gigantism. Max Perkins cut a lot from Wolfe's manuscripts, but not nearly enough: he needed amputation, not surgery. Styron's statement that a novelist who can provoke a powerful emotional response from adolescent readers "is a force to be reckoned with" and his judgment that Wolfe has "a flawed but undeniable greatness" are not convincing.

Styron is best at distinguishing the legend from the conscious artistic achievement of Scott Fitzgerald, who was generous to his contemporaries and loyal to his wife—despite the harrowing experience of his last decade. As Fitzgerald wrote to his close friends, echoing Ecclesiastes: "The golden bowl is broken indeed but it *was* golden." □

The Homosexual Network
By Enrique T. Rueda
Devin-Adair, 680 pp., $11.95 paper

SUMMA OF INVERSION

JOSEPH SOBRAN

The homosexual movement has gained terrific power over the past decade and is now openly courted by major politicians. Yet it has attracted very little serious criticism. Hostility, yes—though even that has been diffuse and rather ineffectual. But hardly any real criticism, in the sense of rational evaluation.

At one stroke *The Homosexual Network* changes that. Father Enrique T.

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Rueda, a Cuban refugee, has studied the "gay" scene and produced a thorough, objective, and withal charitable volume on everything from homosexual semantics to the funding of the movement. His book will probably make homosexual activists furious, but it is not intended to. It merely expresses the perspective of a traditional Christian who regards sodomy (are we still permitted to use our own words on the subject?) as a grave sin and serious disorder, with consequences for our whole society.

Quietly, methodically, Father Rueda finds a number of shocking but not surprising things. That an overwhelming majority of Americans strongly disapprove of homosexual acts. That people in positions of power and influence don't share this attitude and, in fact, aggressively promote homosexual interests. That the media make a special effort to talk gaytalk. That homosexuals have extraordinary incidences of venereal and other diseases. That there is a strong correlation between homosexual activism and left-liberal politics generally. That homosexual influence within the churches is strong. That federal money, especially in the CETA program, has flowed copiously to homosexual organizations. And that, despite protestations to the contrary, pederasty is intrinsic to the homosexual movement.

Nearly all of this is gathered from "gay" publications, rather than from hostile sources. *The Homosexual Network* is a feat of perceptive compilation. The movement has said a number of revealing things when it thought nobody was eavesdropping. It turns out that Father Rueda has heard every word.

The movement has prospered by exaggerating its numbers and the extent of its acceptance. Homosexuals routinely cite the Kinsey report figure that 10 per cent of all Americans are homosexual. This in itself is a distortion of the data Kinsey presented. He was discussing rather brief homosexual *phases* that many otherwise heterosexual people go through.

Father Rueda shows a keen eye for the disingenuous argument. He observes that for all their claims of public acceptance, homosexual groups appealing to politicians never quite say they enjoy the support of the majority; only that their intensity as an organized minority more than makes up for opposition to them, which is, naturally, less concentrated. Likewise he remarks that while parents may give moral support to children who have already announced their homosexual orientation, few parents have been heard to say they would *prefer* a homosexual child.

The pretenses are variously outrageous, heart-rending, and funny. The National Park Service held an exhibit informing tourists that homosexuals had played a key role in the settlement of Jamestown, Va. An outraged public forced the exhibit's withdrawal. Further research found that the main reference to sodomy during the colonial period had to do with a ship's captain who was executed for raping a cabin boy. And no, there is no serious evidence that Michelangelo was homosexual.

This book is a *summa* of inversion. Abundantly researched, it ranges from demographics to metaphysics to make its case. It is stunning to learn both how small the homosexual lobby is and how much influence it wields. Most of the influence, it appears, comes from the homosexual subculture's ideological harmony with the larger cultural-political movement we all know so well, but for which *liberalism* and *socialism* are inadequate names. Politicians, clergymen, the ACLU, the media, bureaucrats, and Warren Beatty have all pitched in.

So have the taxpayers. The most important lesson of this book, I think, transcends homosexuality: a very small number of people, united in behalf of a cause heartily despised by the great majority of others, can, even in a democracy, gain unbelievable leverage.

Father Rueda's tone is calm and scrupulous; he shows no eagerness to embarrass, even when his exposures are most devastating to the movement and its fellow travelers. His analysis is sophisticated and exact, on every level. With its useful listing of homosexual organizations by name and region, *The Homosexual Network* is a book for conservative activists as well as for scholars. Above all, it is written with the steady implicit awareness that the most important thing about a homosexual is his immortal soul. □

5001 Nights at the Movies: A Guide from A to Z
By Pauline Kael
Holt, 676 pp., $25

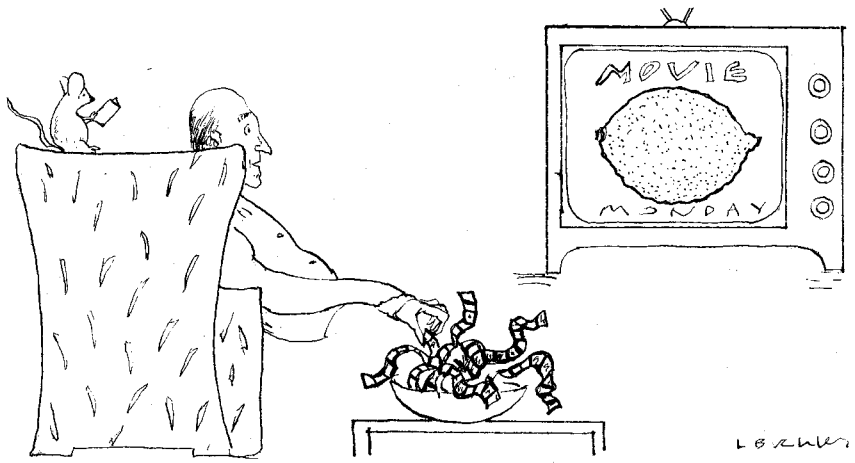
LOWBROW APOTHEOSIS

TERRY TEACHOUT

"She is insatiable," Brendan Gill said of Pauline Kael in his chatty memoir *Here at the New Yorker*, "and wishes nothing less than to see every movie made and to give her opinion of it in print." Miss Kael showed early signs of this distinctive tendency when she shoehorned a few hundred capsule film reviews into her collection *Kiss Kiss Bang Bang*. With the appearance of *5001 Nights at the Movies: A Guide from A to Z*, a tombstone-sized compilation of movie listings originally published in the "Goings On about Town" department of *The New Yorker*, she takes a slightly megalomaniac stride toward the ultimate realization of her apparent goal.

Miss Kael's purpose in collecting these reviews is set forth in a prefatory "author's note":

> I wanted to suggest the range of what movies have done, and so I've brought together silent films and talkies, foreign films and



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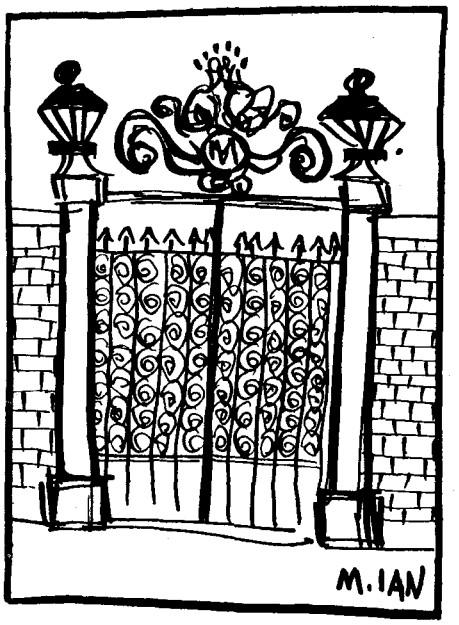
American ones, and even some shorts. You won't find *Gone with the Wind* or *The Wizard of Oz*. Omitting them is a gesture: I wouldn't want anyone to take this book for a complete guide to movies. But I hope that it is a guide to the varieties of pleasures that are available at the movies—from the fun to be had at the juicier forms of trash to the overwhelming emotions that are called up by great work . . . if there are films you'd particularly like to see added, please let me know and if (as I hope) I get the chance to expand this book I'll try to fit them in.

When Pauline Kael finally gets to work on a second edition of *5001 Nights at the Movies*, she can start by chopping out that coy disclaimer about not having meant to write "a complete guide to movies"; if this book were any more "complete" than it is now, it'd come with its own coffee table. *Gone with the Wind* may have wound up on Miss Kael's cutting-room floor, but just about every other movie conceivably worth seeing is discussed in *5001 Nights*, along with several hundred dogs *not* worth seeing, much less writing about, which Miss Kael has thrown in for inscrutable reasons of her own. (The only significant omissions I spotted at first glance were *Vertigo*, *In Cold Blood*, *Annie Hall*, and *La Cage aux folles*.)

It is this very quality of "completeness" that makes the reader wonder precisely what Miss Kael had in mind when she wrote *5001 Nights at the Movies*. On the surface, what we have here is an all-purpose critical companion to the history of film—but one that looks suspiciously like a high-priced apotheosis of those good old four-star late-night-movie rating guides they used to sell at the checkout counters of suburban supermarkets. It's not that Miss Kael *likes* all these movies; far from it. But her method of presentation gives one the distinct impression that, in some vague way, she really does consider them all of a piece. In this gospel according to Pauline, *The Rules of the Game* nestles squeamishly between *Ruggles of Red Gap* and *Ryan's Daughter*, while *Henry V* is flanked by *Hell's Angels* and *Her Cardboard Lover*. These juxtapositions may have been enforced by the exigencies of alphabetical order, but they still say a lot about the popcorny sensibilities of *The New Yorker*'s reigning movie reviewer; you can almost taste the Raisinets as you flip through the pages of *5001 Nights at the Movies*.

Such an approach necessarily and



continually raises the question: Why? For if Pauline Kael is a serious critic, then *5001 Nights at the Movies* is one hell of an indiscriminate work of criticism. It's as if Sir Donald Francis Tovey had interlarded his *Essays in Musical Analysis* with extended meditations on the complete works of Scott Joplin, Franz Lehar, and John Philip Sousa. There is, after all, a place in the literature of film criticism for *something* like *5001 Nights*—the same place, more or less, that Tovey's collected program notes have in the literature of music criticism—but for Miss Kael to have filled this eminently respectable niche with a book that seemingly locates "the juicier forms of trash" on a plane of casual equality with "great work" seems to me a clear disservice to the act of criticism itself.

On the other hand, I don't know anyone who actually takes Pauline Kael seriously as a critic; indeed, John Simon, who has an eye for this sort of thing, has called her "an intelligent, gifted lowbrow," a nasty little sideswipe that gets to the heart of the matter. Miss Kael is hardly a stupid woman, and she writes with a certain flair; moreover, there was a time when she appeared to have a fairly good (if inconsistent) grasp of the fundamental difference between great work and juicy trash. Mr. Simon's theory is that this was merely a pose, one that Miss Kael shed with alacrity after arriving at *The New Yorker*, secure enough in the eminence of her new position to let her true critical colors—purple, buff, and shocking pink—show. After reading *5001 Nights at the Movies*, I'm inclined to agree.

It must be said, however, that if you accept Miss Kael's basic lowbrow premises, or can at least tolerate them, her good points will give you a great deal of furtive pleasure. As a matter of fact, *5001 Nights* may well be her single most effective book; the hit-and-run format obviously suits Miss Kael's critical sensibilities, such as they are, right down to the ground, and these two-hundred-word quickies are almost always full of lively images and well-turned slapshots. Opening at random to page 326, for example, we get this terse evaluation of John Huston's *The Life and Times of Judge Roy Bean*:

> Nihilism plus sentimentality about the rugged-individualist hero—Paul Newman. A mock-epic Western that cannibalizes old movies and mixes an enthusiasm for slaughter with a tacky geniality. John Huston directed this logy, thick-skinned movie from a brutal, jokey script by John Milius, whose imagination appears to have been fed by John Ford, Kurosawa, and a heavy dose of Jodorowsky's *El Topo*.

The name-dropping is typical, of course, but so is the sloppy, knockabout gusto. There is a good writer at work here: not a great one, and certainly not a great critic, but still a writer who can stimulate and amuse at will—qualities not to be dismissed lightly, particularly when they turn up in a hack movie reviewer. (Remember Bosley Crowther?)

THE TRICK is to take *5001 Nights at the Movies* strictly at face value: that is, as an entertaining collection of capsule reviews that has many clever things to say about a lot of movies, some of them good and most pretty awful. There's no point in getting upset just because Pauline Kael isn't much of a critic, no matter what John Simon says. If you can't stomach her, then don't buy the book—and if you *do* buy it, try to stay clear of William Shawn's embarrassing foreword, in which the editor of *The New Yorker* pronounces Miss Kael a writer of "formidable intelligence" and "extraordinary analytical powers." He may have something there, of course; only a critic with *very* extraordinary analytical powers could possibly have found *Dressed to Kill* "one of the most sheerly enjoyable films of recent years." Still, Mr. Shawn also publishes the criticism of Andrew Porter, V. S. Pritchett, and Whitney Balliett, and so he probably ought to know better. Unfortunately, so should Pauline Kael. □

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DELECTATIONS

WINNERS AND LOSERS

NIKA HAZELTON

The incorruptible and unblemishedly fair judges have judged. In a book-lined chamber at NATIONAL REVIEW's offices, sequestered from the outside world, they have sat and pondered the many hundreds of entries from the "Delectations" competition on party and dinner-table conversation starters. Ravaged by decision-making, torn asunder by the desire to be just, they nevertheless decided on three winners and awarded a booby prize.

It was not easy. Before announcing the finalists, let me say something about the competition and contestants in general. The neatness of the entries was exceptional, even when handwritten, although the majority was very competently typed. The manners of the contestants were also exemplary. I wish to express my heartfelt thanks to the people who said such nice things about the "Delectations" column. Entries arrived from all over the United States (one even from England), and taught me a lesson in geography. As with previous "Delectations" competitions, more men than women entered, though the number of female contestants has markedly increased. Contestants were well informed and the majority of them seriously inclined, demonstrating a penchant for learned questions and a love of long words. Obviously, most had spent hours considering their entries. There were many multiple entries, and quite a number were so erudite that they left me speechless. It is obvious that NATIONAL REVIEW's readers live in high-minded circles, and that their party-conversation partners have demanding conversational standards. However, quite a few contestants did not read the rules carefully enough and either sent one or two entries only or mailed them too late. Some tried to be cute about their tardiness, but alas, cuteness did not avail them. (It seldom does unless you are 17 and very pretty.)

Here are the winners; the next "Delectations" will list single entries that I enjoyed, but that do not warrant a prize.

FIRST PRIZE: A super deluxe edition of Bill Buckley's *Atlantic High*, leather-bound, linen-encased, and signed by the author, to **Dr. Joseph E. Darsey** of Houston, for:

1. Since the price of gold has dropped, do you feel alchemy is worth the effort?

2. Have you considered how truffles actually get their taste?

3. How would you explain to your children that you had named them incorrectly?

SECOND and THIRD PRIZES: Sterling Tiffany pencil or pen to **William Dougherty** of Philadelphia, for:

1. Let's see—if it's 8 P.M. here, what time is it on the moon?

2. Do you think there should be eight days in a week?

3. How do you feel about darkness?

and to **Leon J. Wasak** of Los Angeles, for:

1. Have you taken a stand on the law of gravity?

2. Who decides on the names of colors and why?

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3. Why has not science developed a way to take a bath without getting wet?

(Notice that all winning entries followed the rule of "No politics, no race, no religion, no remarks about NATIONAL REVIEW personnel.")

The BOOBY PRIZE, for which there were quite a few entries, will be announced in the next "Delectations." *Pfui.* □

The GIMLET EYE

THOUGHTS ON THE DRAFT RESISTANCE

D. KEITH MANO

Where are we now? Same place we were in 1974, where else? Here, back then, at University Methodist Church (Greenwich Village), Jane Fonda led an anti-Thieu caucus and general hee-haw that chocked the joint to its load limit. I wrote about this church: "Bareness with rococo ornamentation, like an old vaudeville palace reduced to showing X films." Still is. Maybe worse. Massive organ pipes appear skeletal: could be the rib-cage bare carcass of organized religion itself. Methodism now, I think, has something to do with Stanislavsky. Tonight just four dozen show up in support of draft resistance: insignificant, you might argue, but so the first armpit buboes seem.

How do they look? Like a grainy outtake from Columbia '68. Démodé. Dated. All but three or four are young. Beard and ponytail and single earring on the men. Women, all distraught hair and serape, who appear to have had an intramuscular injection of plainness. Belted swim trunks are less unfashionable.

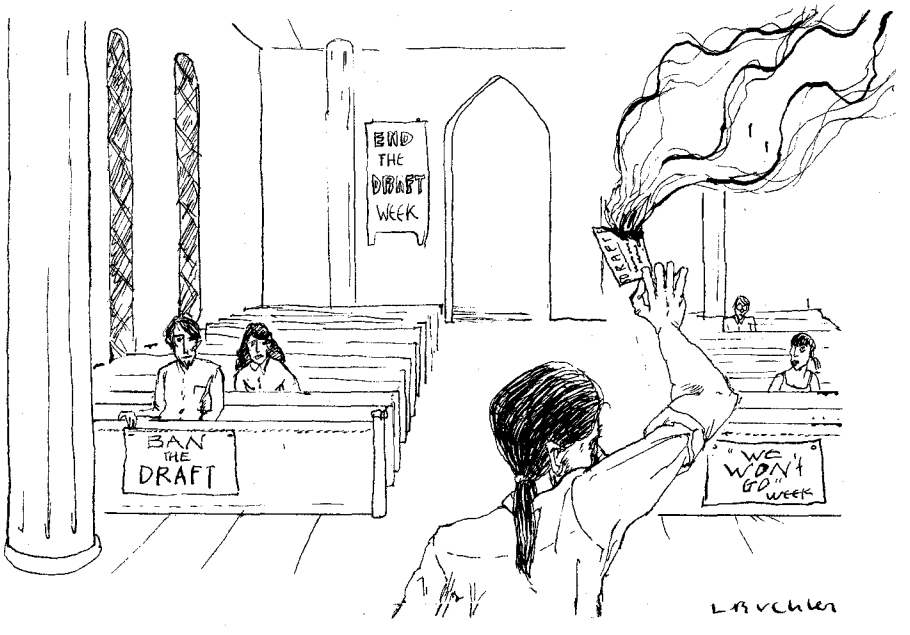
Introducing Lynn Gottlieb. First time I've ever been aroused by a rabbi. Dark eyebrows, long honey blonde hair, WASP nose. Body like a heat-seeking missile. The rabbess is flat-out pacifist and "has some trouble" with events in Lebanon. I should think. Gottlieb will translate herself into fluent Deaf while speaking: this gimmick, rather like a hula dancer's subtext, has become chi-chi even when no hard-of-hearing are present. "One day the Messiah came, *she* came and—" at that point Gottlieb breaks into a chant half rabbinical and half funky chicken. I'll deliver you from the rest.

Why don't conservatives sing? Because, I guess, we tend to believe that reason and good will should prevail alone. Major dumbness there, or broad-based naïveté. The musical accompaniment to radic-lib propaganda represents emotion. Conservatism is cold, logical. *They* feel, as in feelings, ah-oh-uh, feelings. A good left-hand beat can chorus demagoguery and cover for irrational thinking. Compassion has rhythm, don't you know. At this performance we start with sung rhetoric from an awful blind antiwar guitarist who sounds like she is sight reading. Later the Methodist minister will make us meditate to jazz piano. But don't underestimate it: they want you to come out humming that lie. Time NCPAC composed a Supply-Side Chorus or how about, for the anti-freeze movement, "We Shall Overkill"?

VVAW and VVAW-AI (anti-imperialist). A distinction to be made here. The first Viet Vet group is left-wing and militant antiwar, but probably still American. The second group sounds like one big, fat Leninist b.m. They'll say, for instance, "this barbaric monstrosity of a system called America." The two groups, remember, are not connected.

What hosehead canceled draft registration? No matter how optimistic we may have been about volunteer service, it was sheer commfu to dismantle the draft mechanism completely. This is axiom #1 of political expedience: a system in place is 164 times easier to reactivate than a defunct system. About 500,000 haven't registered. That's an unmanageable 7 per cent. And yet only 2 per cent skulked during the Vietnam War. You could predict it. Continuity was lost: the re-established registration edict must've felt personal and discriminative to a kid who hit 18 in 1981. There were credible, innocent excuses enough for keeping registration alive—custom, future civic need, administrative ease, whatever—even while actual induction was put on hold. Standard all or *nada* (usually *nada*) American statesmanship. We suffer from moral and intellectual anorexia.

Conscientious objection wants you. Their poster is a take-off on the U.S. Army Be All That You Can Be theme. Thoughtful, handsome young boy staring out, future-ward. CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR STATUS, THINK ABOUT IT. "One can be a CO regardless of one's religion: an agnostic or atheist can make a CO claim based on deeply held personal beliefs . . . We are also registering conscientious objectors with our CO card. This card simply states: 'Because of my beliefs about war, I am opposed to participation in the military.' [I believe war is hazardous. I believe war will keep me from chef's school.] Should the draft be reinstated, and this is becoming increasingly likely, a CO card could provide important documentation of your status as an objector." Sounds like philosophical entrapment to me. Or one of those postpaid church ordinations. Send everyone with a home-processed CO card over the top first.



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Give them 15 minutes to convince Ivan that war is bad, then start your saturation barrage.

Introducing Russell Ford, indicted draft resister. Ford has this 4F look to me: probably couldn't defend himself even in a war between the shirts and the skins. Post-nasal-drip voice. Nose like a Brussels sprout. Fishing hat on in church. Spectacles thick as architectural glass block. Ford, who has an activist past, wrote Carter and declared that he hadn't yet begun not to fight. (Only self-said draft resisters, thus far, have been put under indictment.) Ford is having fun: a pitch-and-putt Abbie Hoffman. "We shouldn't be considered heroes. I think that's wrong. But we do need money. I'm tired. How many of you have folded 1,000 leaflets?" Everyone but me will put a hand up. "Well, I should've guessed. Listen, you're all invited to my trial in the spring." Nonheroic, self-effacing Ford repeats this three times. The audience doesn't RSVP. He should hand out two-fers maybe.

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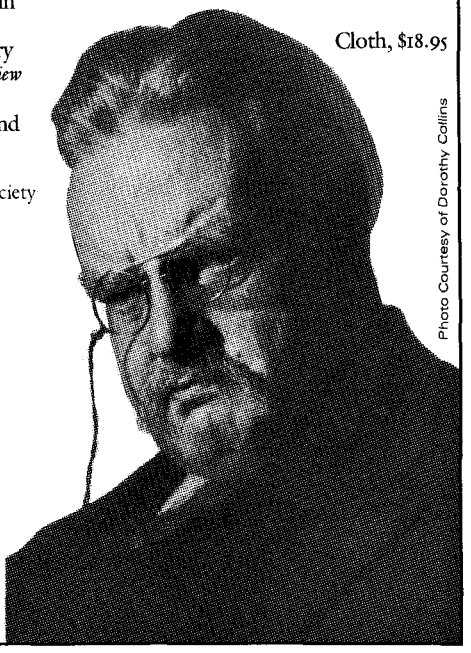

Photo Courtesy of Dorothy Collins

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document. (Mobilization for Survival has been recruiting high schools.) "At first I was just afraid I'd get killed. Then my fear blossomed into idealism." Ah, solid truth. Fear is the mother of high principle. While war and an actual draft are distant, hypothetical, this resistance movement will remain listless. But give us Vietnam again—Vietnam, say, in Tel Aviv or Alaska—and the choir lofts of University Methodist will overflow once more.

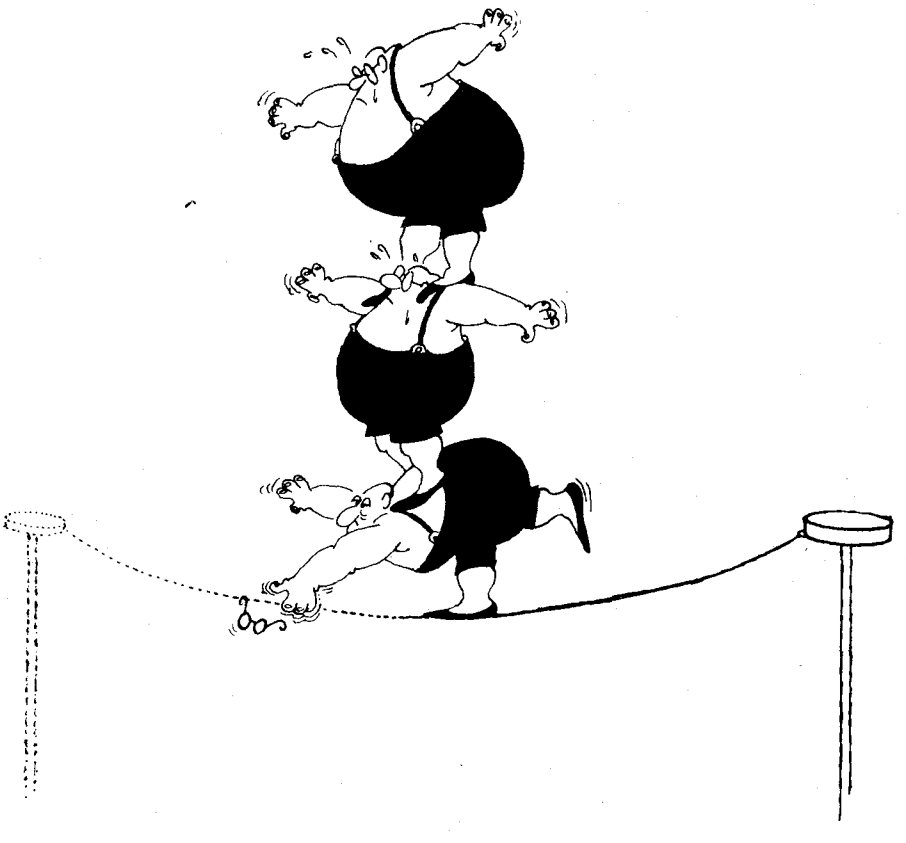
Will America fight even a medium-sized conventional war again? Forget it, Charlie. The game is up. No. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

WALLENBERG: *The Man in the Iron Web, by Elenore Lester (Prentice-Hall, 183 pp., $12.95).* Raoul Wallenberg's Chaplinesque outwitting of the Nazi bureaucracy in Hungary began with his *Schutzpasse*, an extraordinarily impressive document with no basis in international law that served as a magic wand for tens of thousands of Jews. January 17, 1983 marked the 38th anniversary of the day Wallenberg was taken prisoner by the Russians for the "crime" of saving at least fifty thousand Jews from extermination by the Nazis. The author reminds us of the words of Swedish Minister Söderblom to a colleague querying him in the early days of Wallenberg's disappearance: "Remember: not one harsh word about the Russians!" This was the attitude throughout the West, the fear of "offending" the Soviet Union, that helped to seal Wallenberg's fate in a Soviet prison camp. As Miss Lester points out, it was not until the Russians themselves—Solzhenitsyn and others—started speaking out that the media blackout on Soviet oppression was lifted. Miss Lester's book compresses into a short space a vivid account of Raoul Wallenberg's life. She does not invent dialogue or events to increase the drama, nor does she speculate as to Wallenberg's motivations. The mystery is judiciously respected. Instead of broad strokes, Miss Lester gives us light brushlines. And Wallenberg does emerge: a young Swedish aristocrat, no leftist but simply someone who could not abide the strong bullying the weak. We see him as an architectural student in Michigan, as a lover of Laurel and Hardy, the Marx Brothers, and Chaplin. Miss Lester writes: "Wallenberg was not built for sainthood or martyrdom. He loved the outdoors, beautiful buildings, a well-planned city, commercial enterprise, the company of civilized humans. He was a practical man who cared for decency." She counters the revisionist historians who rewrite history with the United States as villain and the Soviets as "peace seekers." (It was the United States that brought about Wallenberg's role in Hungary.) She also makes it clear that others—the Vatican, Switzerland—did far more to combat the Nazis than they have been credited with. But the focus of this brilliant book remains on Wallenberg himself. Who can forget the image of Wallenberg climbing onto the roof of a train taking Jews to their death and "distributing passes to all the hands that could reach him through an opening"? This was the only time in death-filled Nazi Hungary that shots were reported to have been fired at Raoul Wallenberg. When the Russians entered, they picked him up immediately, and carried him off to death, or to a living death somewhere in the Gulag Archipelago. DAVID EVANIER

THE LIFE OF JOHN BERRYMAN, *by John Haffenden (Routledge, 451 pp., $22.50).* John Berryman's life was a disaster area. Abandoned by his father's suicide, overwhelmed by his strong mother's possessiveness, bullied in school, overpraised in college, resenting the women who loved him, wanting fame but feeling guilty about it when it came to him, he drank himself into insensibility and finally committed suicide himself by jumping off the bridge between St. Paul and Minneapolis. The question raised by this huge biography is: Was Berryman's poetry worth the price he had to pay for it? Friends among his contemporaries—Allen Tate, Robert Lowell, Randall Jarrell—seemed to think so. And most of the critics have parroted their verdict. Will posterity concur? Who today reads *Homage to Mistress Bradstreet*, the long poem that Edmund Wilson, with his notorious tin ear, called the successor to *The Waste Land*? The narrative is pretentiously archaic, prissy, and dry. The sonnets are less constricted but still sententious. The *Dream Songs*, which brought Berryman fame, derive their quirky style from Pound's free-wheeling *Cantos* and Williams's colloquial concision, but wholly lack Pound's saving lyricism and Williams's Olympian humanity. Haffenden's biography is exhaustive and exhausting. He is not uncritical of Berryman's debilitating neuroses, but his sympathy for the sufferings of the man blinds him to the failure of the artist. SELDEN RODMAN

LYNDON B. JOHNSON: *A Memoir, by George Reedy (Andrews & McMeel, 159 pp., $12.95).* This slender volume more closely resembles a catharsis than a memoir. Reedy announces that the purpose of his book is to get some things off his chest. And he succeeds admirably in portraying the 36th President of the United States as a bundle of paradoxes perfectly suited for either a Shakespearean tragedy or a Freud-



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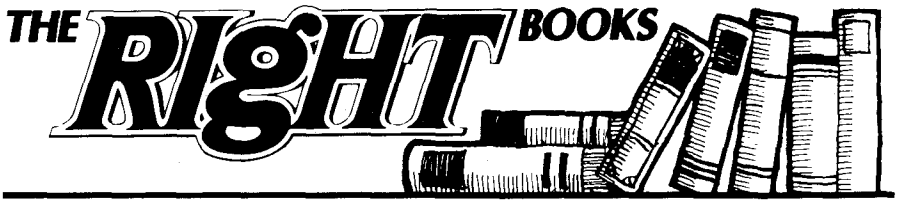
ian couch. Reedy's reminiscences about the man he served for 14 years, until his resignation as presidential press secretary in 1965, is rarely flattering. In fact, the Johnson that emerges from these pages is an insufferable ass, prone to infantile rage and petty revenge. And yet the author's affection for his subject prevents this book from becoming a spiteful post-mortem. Reedy was scarred by his service, as were most of the staffers who stayed around long enough to experience the Texan's wrath. But he reveals a grudging respect for Johnson's consummate Senate skills and the mastery with which he assumed the Presidency after John Kennedy's assassination. The author laments, however, that LBJ's talents were tactical rather than strategic. Johnson specialized in achieving short-term objectives without worrying about their long-range consequences. Thus, the Great Society collapsed because it was built on a structure of conflicting statutes and inadequate funding. Vietnam was another disaster, he says, because the President became a prisoner of his own rhetoric. A tragic tale from one who had the foresight to abandon the sinking ship.

ALAN L. MILLER

BIG BUSINESS BLUNDERS, *by David A. Ricks (Dow Jones-Irwin, 158 pp., $11.95).* In the 1920s, Coca-Cola tried to market its product in China, using a group of Chinese characters that when pronounced sounded a great deal like the famous soft drink's name. Sales were poor; it turned out that while the sound was approximate the meaning was not, the characters translating more or less as "bite the wax tadpole." Coke has since learned its lesson, and now markets its product as "happiness in the mouth," although the syllables in Chinese sound nothing like the brand name. Such is a single case in this episodic and amusing book about just how important proper international marketing research is. Consider, for another example, the firm that sold machines in the Soviet Union under the name "Bardak," a word apparently meaning "brothel" in Russian. Or take General Motors' "Body by Fisher," which was translated into Flemish as "Corpse by Fisher." And who has not heard that Pepsi's "Come Alive" campaign was translated across Asia as "Bring your ancestors back from the dead"? *Big Business Blunders* considers the role of communication and of culture in planning marketing strategy. There are a lot of laughs here, but for every chuckle somebody must have paid. *Big Business Blunders* is a succinct and witty book; most unusually for a business book, it is also written in the English language, and will at least find an appreciative audience among MBA candidates as they plow through the other, dreadful stuff on their reading lists.

JOE MYSAK



CHILTON WILLIAMSON JR.

THE DEATH OF the Family and the keening that surrounds it is a real growth industry today, but it seems to me to be of no more intrinsic seriousness than the Death of God theology was twenty years ago. Whatever strains are being put upon it at the present time, the Family as the basic unit of society is not going to go away, any more than God went away, or honor and courage are destined to vanish from the face of the earth. Meanwhile, an at least respectable number of Yesterday's Generation have got bored waiting for the Sexual Revolution to show up and have gone off, got married, and—*pace* Midge Decter—produced children; while the Death of the Family idea gives conservatives of a skittish emotional disposition something to discuss at symposia.

There is now an interesting volume out called *The Wealth of Families: Ethics and Economics in the 1980s* (The American Family Institute, 114 Fifth St., S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003; $3.95), edited by Carl A. Anderson and William J. Gribbin and including essays by Allan C. Carlson, George Gilder, Midge Decter, Jacqueline Kasun, and C. Everett Koop. Of these the best are easily Carlson's "The Family and Free Enterprise" and Gilder's "The Family and Our Economic Future," which was apparently delivered originally as a commencement address at Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah. I recall hearing the standing ovation from my home in Kemmerer, Wyo., nearly two hundred miles distant.

In this piece Gilder suggests that supply-side economics errs in overly stressing the importance of self-interest to capitalism, thereby creating "economics without a soul. . . . This idea that capitalism is somehow a Faustian pact we make with the devil, in which we achieve economic growth by exploiting greed and avarice, is profoundly misconceived and cannot work." The crux of capitalism, Gilder argued in *Wealth and Poverty*, is altruism; it is *giving* by responding to the needs of others. To the Left giving is merely a matter of redistribution. "But anybody who really considers the problem closely realizes that . . . it takes intimate knowledge to give without taking in the long run. That's why families are the crucial instrument of overcoming poverty: because people who live with other people and have direct responsibilities for them, who bear children and thus have their lives descended into the future through their children, give in a productive and successful way."

As for Carlson, he argues that the family and the liberal-capitalist tradition are "intimately linked in a complex web of cause and effect. The liberal-capitalist order . . . made the modern family possible. And the modern family . . . made the free-enterprise system possible. . . . Given this relationship, I believe it unlikely that either the modern family or the free-enterprise system could long survive the demise of the other."

ON THE other hand, Jacqueline Kasun's "American Population Policy: Time for Another Look" suggests to what degree the institutionalization of conservative thought in this country is tending toward ideological sclerosis. In this article Miss Kasun takes the Agency for International Development to task for promulgating birth control in the Third World. Is it not hypocritical, she asks, for the Reagan Administration—which is committed to growth and a policy of "no limits"—to discourage other societies from developing what Julian Simon calls "the ultimate resource," i.e., people?

The answer to that of course is that unlimited population growth may well accord with supply-side theory, but it is far easier to encourage people to breed than to teach them to save and invest, develop and invent, and what the world most emphatically does not need is breeding without development. So far the Third World has shown no real interest in learning about capitalism; and here at home it remains problematical, to say the least, that Americans can be persuaded to "stay the course" long enough to return us to that economic Eden from which through our perversity we are expelled. □

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Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

LEONARD KOPPETT:

The New York Mets

At an International Press Club cocktail party . . . a European journalist asked Stengel sympathetically, "Did the altitude bother your players?" "The altitude bothers my players at the Polo Grounds, and that's below sea level," Stengel rasped. (Re Mets game in Mexico City.)

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WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

The End of Reagan?

On The Right

New York, Jan. 21—A great deal has been concluded as a result of the figures given out last week that reveal that Ronald Reagan's popularity with the voters is lower at mid-term than that of any of the past four elected Presidents. The poll shows that Reagan's 41 per cent low contrasts with John F. Kennedy's 76 per cent, the historic high. How Mr. Reagan has done is not, of course, exactly the same question as how popular is he. Just as World War II was concluding, the most heroic British figure in modern history was voted out of office. If Winston Churchill can be tossed out by the voters, it should not surprise that one day Mr. Reagan might be tossed out.

But the Gallup poll figures are otherwise interesting. Mr. Kennedy was the most popular President at mid-term. And what happened to him one year later? One year later he calculated that he was so close to the possibility of losing the forthcoming presidential election to Barry Goldwater, that—as his biographers concede—he needed to tie up the support of what might prove to be the swing state. Accordingly, he decided to take a trip to Texas; his last trip. And the whole world is familiar with Harry Truman, who in the spring of 1948 was so unpopular it was generally conceded that Herbert Hoover could have beaten him in the November election: which Harry Truman proceeded to win. The point of the above is simply this, that there is volatility in political popularity, and that to make any final bets on the basis of what Mr. Gallup tells us is, well, not very bright. And of course, utterly uninformative of whether a President deserves to be unpopular, or for that matter, popular.

My own feeling is that Mr. Reagan shows signs of slipping. I don't mean slipping in popularity, which is as unimportant as the unpopularity of the doctor who tells his patient to stop smoking cigarettes. The slippage I refer to reflects a softness in the matter of framing, and merchandising, a consistent picture of what it is that ails America. In recent days Mr. Reagan has approved a Social Security compromise that could have been written by Claude Pepper. And he is talking about contingent taxation including surcharges (or so it is reported) on taxes, and he is about to submit a budget that anticipates a deficit of $185 billion. This is not to suggest that he is the author of the legislation much of which gives him no choice but to submit a high budget. Mr. Reagan has been less than vociferous in his opposition to the budget-busting entitlement programs enacted over the years by Democratic legislatures.

So: the pressures are on him, and his critics are so happy we really ought to tax their elation and solve the budget deficit problem that way. Mr. Tom Wicker writing in the *New York Times* comments on the Washington press that finally it has caught on to the horror occupying the White House. "Pack journalism," he cries out, "where were you when we needed you? Proclaiming the Reagan Revolution, that's where," he chides, as though he were addressing Nero, after Rome had burned down.

The same issue of the *New York Times*, which is superbly dutiful in relaying hard data, publishes excerpts from Mr. Reagan's 118-page document, distributed to the press, covering the first two years of his Presidency. Under the heading of "Then and Now," then being when Mr. Carter left office, now being now, we see a number of entries, including the following: Inflation, then 12.4 per cent; now 4.6 per cent. Interest rates, then 21.5 per cent; now 11 per cent. Treasury bills for ninety days, then 17 per cent; now 8 per cent. Federal spending growth, then 17 per cent per year; now 11 per cent. Mortgage rates, then 17.5 per cent; now 12.5 per cent. Housing starts, heading down one half million per year toward 1981; now, heading up by one half million. Then, gasoline prices heading up; now, gasoline prices heading down.

Here is an interesting question for the critics, and maybe Tom Wicker should lead the class here by doing the research. When in this century has economic improvement on such a scale been outclassed in two years, by any President? Hmm. Interesting question. But then interesting questions ought to be the specialty of those who, while holding that Mr. Reagan has not done enough, are willing to ask just how much can reasonably be expected of a man given the Augean stables to clean out. The Augean stables, what's that, teacher? Well we can transliterate and call them the Tip O'Neill stables. □

ECONOMIC PROJECTIONS

New York, Jan. 18—Let us suppose you were to read: "John's infidelity led to Jane's hitting him over the head with an ax." Would you not assume that John's infidelity was—how do you want to put it—the prime mover, the proximate cause, the efficient agent of, Jane's violent act? One of these. You would not read the sentence as meaning that John was unfaithful on Monday, and Jane just happened to bop him on Tuesday, no connection between the two, right?

So, *Time* magazine (echoing most journals) writes, "[Reagan's] tax cuts led to huge budget deficits, which could reach $200 billion in the current fiscal year." Moreover, *Time* magazine commits the above in an extended, and fascinating, story on the inexactitude of economic projections, and the intemperance of prominent economic spokesmen with anyone who disagrees. The tax reduction this year adds up to $90 billion. Mr. Reagan's policies have brought inflation down a great deal—but even at 5 per cent, that comes to about $175 billion in lost purchasing power. Moreover, that inflation results in a bracket creep that increases taxes by $30 to $40 billion: then there is the rise in Social Security.

Ask then the question: How would the economy have fared if there *hadn't* been a tax decrease? Do you want the answer to that question? The answer is: nobody knows. It is no safer to say that the tax decrease "led" to a budget deficit of $200 billion than it is to say, "tax decreases

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led to holding the budget deficit down to $200 billion."

Time magazine's story is useful in puncturing the notion that all you need to do in order to project what's going to happen to the economy is to devote your life to the subject. Bah humbug. Suddenly people are asking how is it that Mr. Reagan did not anticipate the depths of the recession, to which surely a more interesting question would be: How is it that the economic fraternity did not guess what would be the depths of the recession? Take Data Resources Inc., whose reason for being is to make projections. Well, its vice president is quoted by *Time* as saying that it assigns its forecasts no more than a 50-to-55 per cent probability of being right. Big deal. So you ask, "Will General Motors be selling for more at the end of 1983, than today?" And the difference between flipping a coin, and asking Data Resources, is 5 per cent. *Maybe* 5 per cent.

And look how they turn on each other! Mr. Lawrence Klein who in 1980 got a Nobel for his economic forecasting techniques is so sore at the whole supply-side business that he permits himself to be quoted, "They pulled a vast swindle on the American public—so much so that I've often thought that if there were Nuremburg trials for economists, supply-siders would be in the dock." Well, that must have been the forecasting technique that got him the award. All you have to do is hang those economists who make false projections, and whee!—you have progressively eliminated false economic projections. And economists. I wish that I had thought of that.

But, of course, my favorite is Professor John Kenneth Galbraith. Mr. Galbraith, as we all know, speaks only in the apodictic mode, which is why it is good to dwell from time to time on his past statements.

Exactly a year ago, writing in the *Washington Post*, Mr. Galbraith said: "Given the tax reductions and the military spending, the economy could well recover next year. But with the big deficit that is in prospect, and the absence of any restraint on wages and corporate prices, inflation will then resume. And given the new enthusiasm of the Administration for deficit financing . . . it will be faced with the choice between another round of murderously high interest rates precipitating another recession, or accepting more price increases, more inflation."

Well, the economy did not recover in 1982. Inflation did not resume. We did not have another round of murderously high interest rates, the prime rate came down by ten points. What he calls another recession did not materialize, we stayed in the same recession. Nor did we accept more price increases, inflation continued to come down, to a level of less than 5 per cent. To make five errors in prediction covering the economic events of a single year is a mark of Mr. Galbraith's singular distinction. And not just any old economist could accomplish something on this scale. □

WAR AGAINST CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

New York, Jan. 25—There are several developments on the capital punishment front of interest, primarily a recent statement by Pope John Paul II that is being interpreted by the abolitionists as a major ethical event. What the Pope called for was "clemency and mercy for those condemned to death"—but listen: "especially [for] those who have been condemned for political motives." The word "especially" seemed to give it away. That is to say, the Pope a) believes in clemency, an exhortation as old as Christianity. But b) tacitly acknowledges that clemency is more appropriate in some cases than in others—particularly it is appropriate for convicted men whose crimes were political. The Pope here postulates something the abolitionists are entirely unwilling to do: which is that there is a distinction between superior, and lesser, claims for clemency.

Now the granting of clemency is, in the United States, an executive prerogative. For so long as the legislature specifies capital punishment as the appropriate response to crimes of a certain character, the courts are obliged to mete out that punishment. Petitions for clemency are directed to the President, in federal cases; and to governors in state cases. The abolition of capital punishment is exclusively the concern of the legislatures, and in America the trend is toward the universalization of capital punishment. It is expected that Oregon will soon become the 39th state of the Union to reverse the abolition it voted for twenty years ago.

Now this brings up the grave problem accosted by Professor Raoul Berger of Harvard. Professor Berger is most readily distinguishable as the legal scholar who became a household word among the liberal intelligentsia when he published a book during the Watergate season asserting that no legal obstacles lay in the way of a Congress that conscientiously sought to impeach a President for misconduct. Professor Berger a few years later published a book challenging the availability of the Fourteenth Amendment to liberals who wanted to use it to carry out their social agenda, whatever it was at any given moment. Berger became an anti-hero. But at age 81 he is back with another book, *Death Penalties: The Supreme Court's Obstacle Course*, in which he devastates those who argue against the death penalty on the grounds that it is "cruel and unusual punishment" and therefore unconstitutional under the Eighth Amendment.

When in 1972 the Supreme Court struck down the capital punishment laws as inconsistent and "freakishly imposed," the Court arrogated authority it simply did not have. Justice Potter Stewart wrote that death sentences "are cruel and unusual in the same way that being struck by lightning is cruel and unusual." Yup. And if the Supreme Court outlaws lightning, I'm all for it. But to outlaw the positive law of men and women vested by the people with authority to prescribe punishment on the grounds that these laws are variously enforced, is no argument at all, or else it is an argument against democratic practice.

Consider. It has been many years now since capital punishment was restored pursuant to the Supreme Court's criteria. But has it made a significant difference? No. Only six convicted men have been executed. The ACLU's position that capital punishment is unfair because good lawyers can get you out is an inadvertent confession. *Time* magazine, in a well-executed cover story on capital punishment, quotes the director of Florida's Clearinghouse on Criminal Justice, one Scharlette Holdman, who says: "If you're adequately represented you don't get death. It's that simple." If it's that simple, then what we are being told is that legal practice has developed techniques that are simply flouting the law.

The point, of course, is that those who seek the abolition of the death penalty seek it quite apart from constitutionally specified measures for abolition. They call this sort of thing—when what they mean is that they oppose it—"taking the law into one's own hand." Richard Nixon got thrown out of the White House for that.

Time asks, "Is it [capital punishment] fair? That is, does it fall equally on the wealthy white surgeon represented by Edward Bennett Williams and the indigent black with court-appointed (and possibly perfunctory) counsel?" No it doesn't. But the relevant observations are: 1) Juries are influenced by great advocates, but that has never been held sufficient reason for abolishing juries. 2) A guilty man is not justly let off because another guilty man got off. 3) The relevant emphasis should be on tightening the law so that rich white surgeons who are guilty don't escape punishment. And 4) even Edward Bennett Williams (as he would admit) doesn't always succeed.

What the abolitionists can't accomplish—which is the abolition of capital punishment by due process—they are seeking to do by other means, and many who think themselves law-abiding, are going along with the act. □

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Trans-O-Gram

By SVEND PETERSEN

DEFINITIONS

A. An American general in three wars — 13 36 91 40 24 106 57 84 137

B. Dr. Watson was here before the Russians — 25 39 67 173 181 80 147 156 1 12

C. Beneath — 101 / 30 104 132 5 195

D. A poem by Omar Khayyam — 83 127 86 78 184 109 92 56

E. A town near Sverdlovsk — 97 187 94 179 198

F. A golf club — 141 20 107 112 37

G. SOLE BUM (anagram) — 155 93 185 43 26 118 8

H. Any of a number of organic or inorganic substances necessary to the functioning of an enzyme — 180 95 61 113 28 193 87 150

I. The Secretary of the Treasury — 7 9 19 52

J. Contributing — 188 32 42 100 124 133 148 163 166 178 / 191 46 10

K. Where the aged or infirm may live — 192 54 15 27 103 128 152 49 38 73

L. Very small amounts — 82 / 33 160 21 96 168 14 182 44

M. Another name for taffy — 48 142 62 120 196 58

N. A marsupial that plays dead — 69 34 162 90 157 79 144

O. The British peerage — 3 11 22 50 31 65 45 4

P. A type of shack or shed — 108 121 72 66 114 165

Q. CUB IN LEAR (anagram) — 123 161 71 145 116 98 74 189 23

R. Disraeli's last name — 53 2 6 17 29 51 59 70 105 115 / 183 76

S. Coming into existence — 63 176 35 64 170 158 139 164

T. Delivered from sin — 111 138 81 159 177 143 186 129

U. Officially estimating the value of — 169 68 99 130 190 197 16 146 125

V. This is used for rescues at sea — 41 153 135 171 89 75 18 172

W. No ____, ands, or buts — 77 134 126

X. One who gained her objective, unlike the women's deliberationists — 85 60 102 119 131 175 110 136 55 149 / 151

Y. Things serving as reminders or warnings — 88 174 154 122 167 140 47 194 117

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words (above) from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 204 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.

■	1 B	2 R	3 O	■	4 O	5 C	6 R	7 I	8 G	■	9 I	10 J	11 O	■	12 B	13 A	14 L		
15 K	16 U	17 R	18 V	19 I	■	20 F	21 L	22 O	23 Q	24 A	25 B	26 G	27 K	■	28 H	29 R	30 C		
31 O	32 J	■	33 L	34 N	35 S	36 A	37 F	■	38 K	39 B	■	40 A	41 V	42 J	43 G	44 L	45 O		
■	46 J	47 Y	48 M	49 K	50 O	51 R	52 I	■	53 R	54 K	55 X	■	56 D	57 A	58 M	■	59 R		
60 X	61 H	62 M	63 S	64 S	65 O	66 P	67 B	68 U	■	69 N	70 R	■	71 Q	72 P	73 K	74 Q	75 V		
76 R	77 W	78 D	■	79 N	80 B	81 T	82 K	83 D	■	84 A	■	85 X	■	86 D	87 H	88 Y	89 V		
90 N	■	91 A	92 D	93 G	94 E	95 H	96 L	97 E	98 Q	99 U	■	100J	101B	102X	103K	104C	105R		
106A	107F	108P	109D	■	110X	111T	112F	113H	114P	115R	116Q	■	117Y	118G	119X	120M	121P		
122Y	123Q	124J	125U	126W	■	127D	128K	129T	130U	131X	■	132C	133J	134W	135V	136X	137A		
138T	139S	140Y	■	141F	142M	143T	144N	145Q	146U	147B	148J	149X	■	150H	151X	152K	153V		
154Y	155G	156B	■	157N	158S	159T	160L	■	161Q	162N	163J	■	164S	165P	■	166J	167Y		
168L	169U	170S	171V	■	172V	173B	174Y	■	175X	176S	177T	178J	179E	180H	181B	182L	■		
183R	184D	185G	186T	187E	188J	189Q	190U	■	191J	192K	193H	194Y	195C	196M	197U	198E	■		

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LEJEUNE
(Continued from page 192)

changed Mrs. Thatcher's personal standing more than any other—the Falklands war. In the autumn of 1981 she was the most unpopular Prime Minister since public-opinion polls began. After the recovery of the Falklands, nine months later, she could have swept the country in a snap election.

Her Finest Hour

Inevitably, the Falklands factor is diminishing but it has not disappeared. People argue, with some justification, that the courage and unswerving resolution with which she sent the fleet south to victory are qualities no less valuable when confronting the problems of peace. Mrs. Thatcher herself is now the most popular feature of the Conservative Party. This has done wonders for her confidence. She has been able to eliminate some of the "wets" from her cabinet and to dominate those who remain. The "wets"—effectively the liberal wing of the Conservative Party—although still unhappy and uncomprehending are subdued.

The Conservatives' greatest asset is the condition of the Labor Party. Torn by strife, infiltrated by Trotskyists, led by the increasingly petulant and insecure figure of Michael Foot, with the still more leftist Anthony Wedgwood-Benn waiting in the wings, it does present a profoundly unattractive spectacle. Efforts will be made, of course, to muffle the Trotskyists and paper over the rifts during the pre-election period, but the odor of hatred and malice is too strong to be concealed.

And Labor's policies have been expressed quite clearly—unilateral nuclear disarmament, a huge increase in public spending, the removal of curbs on the unions, a 30 per cent devaluation of the pound, exchange controls and import controls, a wealth tax, and the abolition of private education and private medicine. Both Mr. Foot and Mr. Wedgwood-Benn have recently expressed nostalgia for the circumstances of wartime Britain, when the government regulated everything and there was virtually no individual freedom.

It seems unlikely that a great many people share their tastes in that respect. But many will vote Labor automatically, mainly for class reasons: and some will vote Labor because they believe that unemployment is the worst evil and public spending could cure it. The peace movement may rally votes for unilateralism.

The psephologists' crystal ball is rendered cloudier than usual by the intervention of the Social Democratic Party, which is made up chiefly of defectors from the right wing of the Labor Party. Its initial impetus has seemed lately to be failing, but nobody has any real idea how it will poll on election day. It could emerge holding the balance of power: or it could take enough seats from the Conservatives to give Labor the victory.

If the odds, at the moment, still favor a Conservative win, it is because people have become disillusioned and more realistic. They see no alternative to the present government's policies, only a repeat offer of old follies, and they feel safer in Mrs. Thatcher's governessy hands than in those of Mr. Foot, Mr. Wedgwood-Benn, or the woolly Liberals and Social Democrats.

This election will be a bitter and frightening one. There seems no common ground anywhere. The alternatives are stark—for Britain and, because of the defense implications and the dominant left wing of the Labor Party's anti-Americanism—for Britain's allies. □

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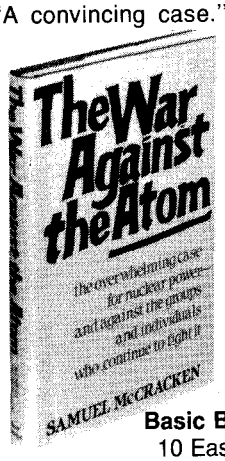
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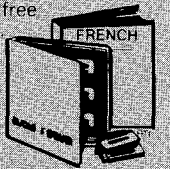

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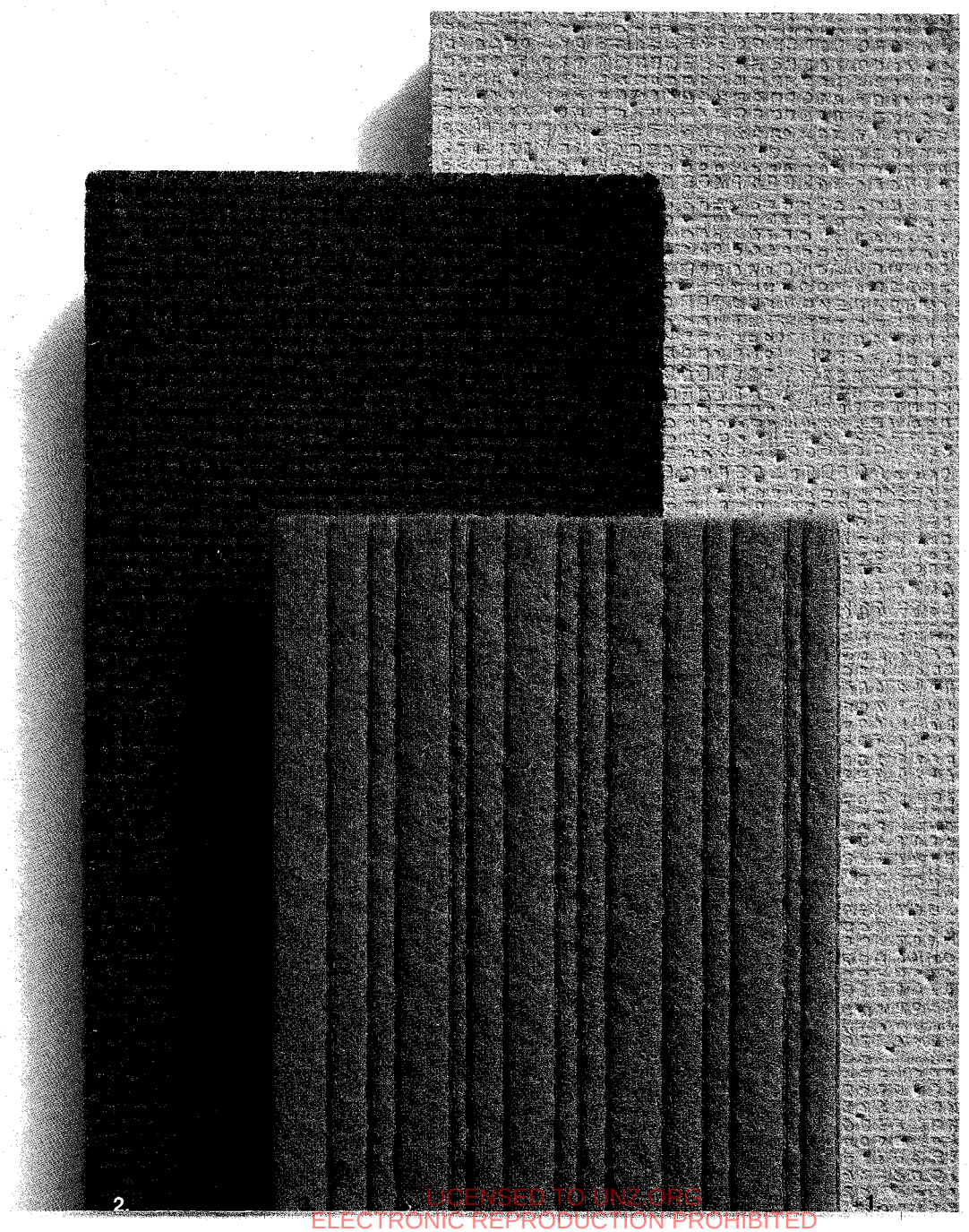

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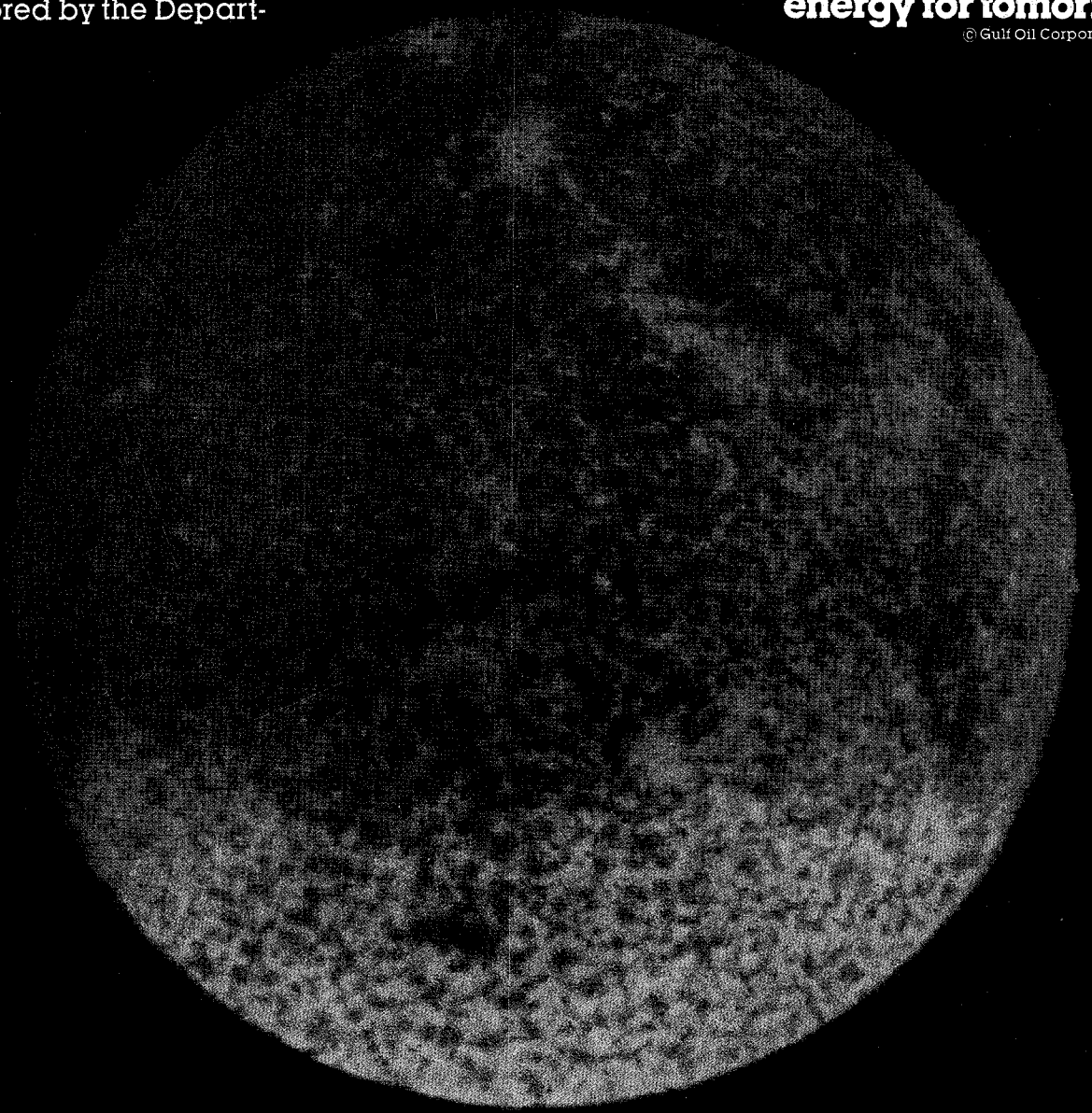

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